

Contemporary Review

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FORUM FEATURE—

CANNED POLITICS

MAURICE WOODS

MUCH has been said about the influence of TV on people, not enough about the influence of people on TV. People get the TV they deserve, just as they get the Government they deserve. In future they may get both in the same parcel.

TV first became a branch of politics at the General Election of 1959. In 1955 only a minority of the electorate had TV sets, and only the BBC fed them. By 1959 most of the nation's voters were having their prejudices operated on by both BBC and Independent Television. The next General Election will jerk a vast TV audience out of its chairs, screen-trained, Panorama-nourished, commercial-drilled, to mark its crosses according to a whole new set of responses.

Will those responses be more enlightened than before? Or less? For TV is an all-purpose drug. It can wake people up and it can send them to sleep. It could be the most powerful political awakener since the bicycle took revolution to Africa, or it could turn us into pigs and let Circe rule the island.

The dangers advertise themselves as loudly as any commercial. Among the most insistent is the possibility that TV will enable the majority to tyrannise even more effectively than now. The very fact that men own TV sets enlarges this fear. Hungry men do not make a thoughtful opposition, but at least they make an opposition: those who are having it good can be persuaded to praise God from whom all consumer goods flow. But a TV set is not merely a possession, it is part of the apparatus of persuasion. It is a powerful preacher of the doctrine that material prosperity is an end in itself. Too firm believers in this doctrine are not troubled by Lenin's question "Who, whom?" So long as it pays them, they are content to be whom, leaving the business of being who to the majority: their votes keep in power.

It is not, of course, a new problem. Only the TV is new. The problem is at least as old as the Greeks. In our time it is at least as old as John Stuart Mill, who might have been foreseeing televised culture when he grew perturbed at the power of collective mediocrity. What, you may ask, is wrong with collective mediocrity? Has there ever been a time when popular culture rose above the mediocre? The point is that the culture purveyed by the TV set is not popular culture in the sense of having

sprung from the people. It has been given to the people as the lowest common denominator of their fantasies. When one speaks of "the influence of people on TV", it is simply to say that passive acceptance of off-the-peg culture, tailored to fit the average mind, has directed the actions of the purveyors, for whom the TAM rating is a measure not of size but of value. It is a culture imposed by the majority.

Men's attitudes are immeasurable. Their opinions do not change as visibly as litmus paper. It must be many years before anyone can make even a guess at the extent to which TV alters the political life of a nation. Its effect on the adult mind can at present only be inferred from the more precise work done with children. The report brought out by H. T. Himmelweit in 1958 on "Television and the Child" made the positive assertion that TV influences the way children think and the judgments they make. It is safe to assume that the adult does not go wholly unscathed. Assuming, then, that thoughts and judgments are affected, it is permissible to guess that thoughts become compressed within limits set by the communicators, and judgments brought into line with those favoured by the majority.

The tendency, in fact, is to produce conformity of thought and feeling in a society which can be democratic only so long as a fruitful interplay of conflicting thoughts and feelings is encouraged. The moment the original thinker becomes a laughing-stock, or the rebel an outcast, tyranny is on the way in. This is not conjecture, but experience. The brief but baleful triumph of McCarthyism in the United States is a case in point. Galloping conformism brought American democracy almost to its death-bed. The patient's constitution was sound, and it survived. Would its recovery have been so swift if thoughts and feelings had lain congealed in a national mould for several decades? If there had been several decades, instead of several years, of TV?

Less spectacularly, the habit of conforming with conventional attitudes could give conservatism virtually perpetual ascendancy in this country. Conservatism demands no thought, simply obedience. As an instrument for suppressing thought, other than the thoughts doled out for public acceptance, TV has the advantages of an established and unchallengeable Church. I once listened to a young ex-criminal being asked by a parson why he did not go to church. "When you stand up in your pulpit," he replied, "I must take what you say whether I understand it or not. You can't ask questions in church." Nor can you question a TV set.

You can, of course, ask questions after church. You can always ring the bell at the vicarage door. The people who pontificate from TV sets instead of pulpits are totally inaccessible. The only way to test their conclusions is to discuss them with other viewers. Experience suggests that there is very little debate of this kind. For one thing, the programmes roll relentlessly on, and the temptation to watch what comes next defeats the urge to switch off and dispute what has just been said. Later, perhaps days later, viewers meeting in a club or a bar or a works canteen may recall a programme and toss its ideas among themselves. By this time the central issues have grown hazier than the more memorable of the

ancillary arguments. The usual way of quoting a TV programme is to put forward a point as though it has originated in the viewer's own mind and then add, seemingly as an afterthought, that Woodrow Wyatt said much the same thing on Tuesday night.

Personal debate thus tends to become a regurgitation of received ideas rather than a clash of opinions based on observation and experience. It may be objected that individual opinions, ever since the whole nation became literate, have been based on arguments presented through books and the Press, while for 40 years they have been influenced by sound radio. That is true, but books are many and the Press is varied. Sound radio never had the mesmerism of TV. The disembodied voice could be rejected with ease if what it said ran counter to beliefs already shaped by other instruments. There are gleaming examples of the immunity of pre-TV democracies to unseen propagandists. One of the distinguishing marks of a democracy is its willingness to allow its citizens to listen to any half-truths from any source, knowing that the mental sinews strengthened by debate will be strong enough to resist. It was not only confidence in the patriotism of soldiers and civilians which gave Lord Haw-Haw the freedom of the wartime air. Hearts were judged to be right, but heads were also known to have been screwed on firmly by the democratic habit of weighing and selecting arguments.

Totalitarian régimes cannot expose their people to opposing views, because the beliefs sustaining totalitarianism are mere lodgers in the individual's mind. They have not grown there: they have been put there. So long as nothing disturbs them, the régime is safe. The attitudes likely to be built up in the democratic citizen by years of watching TV bear some resemblance to the beliefs of a totalitarian society. The uncritical assimilation of ideas presented on behalf of the majority could wither the faculty of judgment and prevent that radical re-examination of society on which democracies rely for their periodic rejuvenation.

We can still doubt whether TV is having this effect on the electorate. We cannot doubt that it is having an uncanny effect on politicians. They regard it as a potent means of enticing voters on to the hook. It has never mattered much to politicians how the voter is hooked, so long as they can land him. If reason serves, reason will be employed; if not, promises, flattery and fervour will do as well. These ancient devices are a legacy of the hustings. TV has devices of its own. What worked well on a platform, with a brass band, with mass emotion, opportunist oratory and spontaneous repartee, does not work at all when the suppliant sits in a box by the fireside, addressing a family trapped between the cowboys and the quiz. A policy or a party image must be sold, as other merchandise is sold. The politicians now have schools to teach them slickness.

The cardinal rule is to divert attention from hard facts to delectable fancies. Hair-cream is not sold by mentioning its popularity among dust-men. It has to be associated with ambition. The young man with the shining mane has a car which he could only have bought out of an enormous salary, he is pestered by beautiful girls, and his social status is rising. What they are selling is not hair-cream but a lucky charm. The

appeal is not to reason, but to a submerged reverence for magic which is inimical to democracy, yet is now being played upon more forcefully than was possible before TV was invented

The technique worked wonders for the Conservatives at the last General Election. For hair-cream, read the Conservative Party. For wealth, women and status, read prosperity. The connection between Conservative policies and the industrial anticyclone was never explained. It was certainly never explained that the Budget had been designed to bring in a sunny spell for the election. Nor was it explained that the Conservatives traditionally discount any connection between Government and industry, apart from the Government's duty to exhort the industrialists to get on with their job. Minds unseduced by advertising techniques would have detected some illogicality somewhere. An illiterate Victorian mill-hand would have retorted, 'The Government never done it. We done it.' He would not have been wholly correct, but he would have shown greater independence of thought than the public who accepted the invitation to see Conservative rule and prosperity as cause and effect.

It is just this kind of non sequitur that TV excels at imparting. Cleverly handled, the medium is capable of conferring a halo on the shoddiest consortium of careerist nobodies. The party likeliest to win would be the one with the least respect for the truth. At best, a television campaign could so befuddle the voter that he failed to distinguish the honest men from the knaves. Not that there would be much incentive to honesty, when rewards went to the underhanded. Yet even this is not the greatest peril. A party which merely used the screen to hypnotise the electorate into accepting its policies might still have sound policies to offer. The real fear is that the parties might grow to look like their own picture of themselves. That picture, like most of TV, would be an Identikit reconstruction of what the majority wanted. Has this already begun to happen? The Labour Party looks more like the Conservative Party every day, and both look like the conformist image admiring itself in the glass.

If TV helps to hold up this unhappy medium as the political ideal, Parliament will be in danger of losing what faint power it still has to control the Executive. "It must now be sadly admitted," wrote Lord Hailsham in 1946, when the admission probably gave him greater sadness than it would today, "that to some extent the control of the Executive under the modern party system rests more as an honourable obligation on the supporters of the Government than upon their open opponents." The honourable obligation would not rest very heavily upon members of a party sustained as the reflection of a collectively mediocre majority. The deadly benevolence of such a dictatorship need not be described.

That, then, is the pessimistic prospect. There is also an optimistic prospect. For TV could yet have precisely the opposite effect. The free mind has surely not outlived centuries of subversion and intimidation to be ensnared so easily by this new instrument of conformism. Once the public learns the rules, once discrimination sets in, the individual is just as capable of using the communicator as the communicator of using the individual.

One of Mayhew's most poignant pictures from the London streets in the nineteenth century is of a 13-year-old girl, a crossing sweeper, who asked him whether he had heard of a place called Italy. There is nothing now to match the naivety of her ignorance, unless it be that of the typist who, asked in a TV game if she had heard of Quemoy, replied: "Ah, you mean fabulous pink Quemoy." Literacy and relief from poverty have exorcised ignorance, making democracy possible, and TV can continue the process.

The world's agonies are delivered daily to the living-room. Statesmen who were once blurred photographs in newspapers squat in the corner and are scrutinised. Science has hopped out of the unopened text-book and displays itself as a living force. Art imposes itself on the notice of people who never entered a gallery. There are few human activities concerning which some information, however processed, does not percolate to minds hitherto unreceptive. Are we to be so misanthropic as to deny that the public will make good use of this information?

By making two blades of knowledge grow where only one grew before, TV has the power to enlarge the meaning of the phrase "informed public opinion." Hitherto only a small section of the electorate could lay claim to independence of thought, for independence rests on knowledge. The more knowledge the ordinary man acquires, the greater his capacity to question the opinions and attitudes forced upon him. TV thus has the paradoxical ability to defeat itself at its own game, to keep at bay the majority dictatorship which threatens to arise in a self-satisfied and unthinking democracy.

Indeed, instead of being the new opium of the people, TV will probably turn out to be a political alarm-clock. The gloomy view is tempting in this first decade of its reign, but if we remember that the viewers are maturing all the time, absorbing unfamiliar facts, seeing through false personalities, detecting the aces hidden up sleeves, the next decade looks promising. Whatever its ultimate effect on social and political attitudes, there can be no hating an invention which makes people interested in the world's affairs. Interest is the spur to the polling-station. There have recently been unprecedented polls at by-elections, with voters showing a singular originality in their choice of candidate. But to follow that thought through would be to make too bold a surmise.

WORLD VISTAS—

CRISIS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

SYDNEY D. BAILEY

IT is not surprising that the United Nations should be associated with crisis, but until recently the Organization was usually thought of as an instrument for resolving difficulties rather than as itself the object of controversy. Now the United Nations is under attack, not only from those who say that it has abandoned its original principles (Lord Home), but also from those who claim that it cannot work effectively until it has been adapted to the ideological divisions of the contemporary world (N. S. Khrushchev).

The fact is that we are in the seventeenth year of the nuclear era but states still cling to obsolete ideas about national interest and the use of force in its pursuit. Any organization may require that all who wish to join should accept certain obligations, the United Nations Charter goes further in stating that the obligations of the Charter over-ride all other obligations. It is undoubtedly a fact, as Lord Home says, that states are not living up to the obligations of the Charter, but they never did. Britain's record does not entitle us to rebuke others. The most convincing demonstration that Britain believes in the principles and commitments of the Charter would be to honour them in all circumstances, even when to do so might seem to work against our short-term interests.

This can, of course, easily be dismissed as airy-fairy nonsense. After all, Mr. Khrushchev has said bluntly that the Soviet Union would use force rather than accept a United Nations decision which did not accord with its interests, "even if all the countries of the world" voted for such a decision. I am sure that the same thought has occurred to the leaders of other countries.

Mr. Khrushchev's *troika* proposal for reforming the United Nations is a candid response to Western efforts to get round the veto in the Security Council. It is perfectly easy to draft a UN resolution in such a way that it is unacceptable to another state. This forces someone else to accept the odium and formal responsibility for inaction. There have no doubt been occasions when the Western powers have used this procedural gimmick, but there has been much more to the veto than that. The Soviet Union has not only used the veto often, it has used it for purposes that were not envisaged when the Charter was drafted. In these circumstances, it is to be expected that other states should experiment with various devices for circumventing the veto in order to avoid paralysis when world peace is threatened. The decision of the Security Council to resist aggression in Korea in 1950 was possible only because the Soviet Union was at that time boycotting the Council, but by the end of the year the General Assembly had agreed on a procedure whereby it could be called into emergency session at short notice if the Security Council should be paralyzed by the veto. It is one of the ironies of history that this Western-sponsored

procedure should be first invoked after vetoes by Britain and France at the time of the Suez adventure

The General Assembly, which now has 104 members to the Security Council's 11, is an unwieldy and volatile instrument. It was designed as a deliberative organ, with the right to express its opinion and make recommendations. The proper duty of such an assembly regarding administrative matters, as John Stuart Mill put it, "is not to decide them by its own voice, but to take care that the persons who have to decide them shall be the proper persons". The General Assembly now behaves very much as the House of Commons did during the seventeenth century. What it cannot easily do is to act promptly and decisively in a crisis.

If 1945-1950 is regarded as the era of the Security Council and 1951-1955 the era of the General Assembly, 1956-1960 was the era of the Secretary-General. This period was characterized by two separate but related trends. First, the policy-making organs repeatedly entrusted Mr. Hammarskjöld with heavy diplomatic and operational responsibilities. In most cases, broad objectives were established, and it was left to Hammarskjöld to interpret and implement them as best he could. Secondly, Hammarskjöld was increasingly exercising such independent political initiatives as the Charter permitted, with the knowledge of UN members but without the express approval of policy-making bodies. Indeed, Hammarskjöld's initiatives regarding Laos in 1959 caused the first public Soviet attack on him, even though the language was relatively restrained.

The common element in these related trends was that time and again the Secretary-General found himself in a situation in which he had to act when governments had failed to agree. He became, as it were, the judge of the international interest. And, by and large, it worked well until things started going badly for the Russians in the Congo. I confess, however, that I find it difficult to believe that the *troika* was a petulant reaction to a particular course of action on which Hammarskjöld had embarked in the Congo. It seems to me much more likely that the *troika* was a considered response to a trend in world affairs, a trend in which decision-making at times of crisis was increasingly detached from considerations of national power. And let it be said that the Russians were not the only people who were anxious about UN developments in 1960.

The *troika* was an old idea in a new dress. An earlier incarnation of it had been advanced by the German and Italian members of a League of Nations committee thirty years previously. Sir Eric Drummond had tried to base the League Secretariat on the principle of international responsibility. League officials were to be servants of the world community rather than national representatives; they were to be independent of governments, and impartial—in the sense that umpires at cricket are impartial. Such ideas were anathema in Germany and Italy. "So long as there is no Super-State and therefore no 'international man', an international spirit can only be assured through the co-operation of men of different nationalities who represent the public opinion of their respective countries." National opinion, the Italian and German members of the committee urged, should be represented not only by diplomats in League organs but by officials in

the League Secretariat. Moreover, they recommended that the direction of the Secretariat should be placed in the hands of a collective executive body. The idea was defeated in 1930-1931, as it was thirty years later. But it is not dead.

It is possible to regard the United Nations as a passive body, a forum for discussion, an international equivalent of the House of Lords. The rôle of Britain's upper chamber is not to be despised. It has an honourable tradition, its active members are men and women of distinction; its debates are of a higher order, its procedure and ritual are marked by dignity and good sense. At the same time, a great deal of what it does is outside the main stream of political life.

The United Nations could become like that. Its organs could go through the motions of debate, while the real business took place elsewhere. Laos, Berlin and Algeria have been mentioned many times in UN debates, but action on these matters has in the main been outside the UN framework.

The United Nations can play a dynamic rôle. Its economic and social activities are of great importance, especially for those countries which are reluctant to accept aid directly from the major powers. It is less easy to measure the achievements of the UN in political and security matters, since it often enters the picture only when the situation is already serious. Its notable successes, naturally, have been where one party to a dispute, or all parties, have been specially amenable to "world public opinion", as it is often called. This was evident when Suez and Hungary were under simultaneous consideration in 1956, and gave rise to misplaced complaints about a double standard. I hope Britain will always be judged by the highest standards of international conduct.

But the United Nations fails, in the sense that it achieves less than it might, when oratory takes the place of negotiation, when a voting victory is thought to be more important than agreement. The United Nations is not a substitute for diplomacy.

Good procedure is a lubricant rather than a fuel. It may well be that the United Nations Charter needs amendment, further limiting the freedom of action of states, but much can be done within the present Charter to make the Organization more effective. Expert UN committees have studied how international friction and disputes may best be handled and have made fairly precise recommendations. Unfortunately, when the crisis comes, emotion and irrationality get the upper hand too often. That, indeed, is one reason why the general situation is now so precarious. The doctrine of the deterrent assumes that everyone will behave rationally in the future, although we know perfectly well that they have not done so in the past.

Public debate has its place. Psychiatrists know that to articulate fears often reduces anxiety and tension. In the case of a grave international crisis, there is a stage when the UN may wisely permit the parties to let off steam in public. But once this is accomplished, and before every Tom, Dick or Harry insists on having a say, the dispute should move from a public to a private phase. Third party assistance often helps. The League

of Nations developed the useful practice of appointing *rapporteurs* to elucidate the issues and suggest steps towards a solution.

Real negotiation takes time, and most UN bodies are now over-burdened with business. The UN should do fewer things better. Is it really necessary for the Assembly to have three separate debates every year on the South African situation?

Every UN delegate knows that listening to speeches is more exhausting than making them, as UN membership increases, so does the listening/speaking ratio. Arbitrary limits on the length or number of interventions seem to be ineffective, as the ingenious delegate can always discover or invent a loophole—speaking on a point of order, exercising the right of reply, or explaining his vote. But voting machines would save time, especially in the General Assembly.

Select committees of states can help with those tasks for which the plenary assembly is too big and clumsy, particularly when some link is needed between the Secretary-General and a policy-making organ. Such committees should be small. They should meet in private, and irreconcilable differences of opinion should be referred to the parent body for settlement.

As for the Secretariat, all attempts to erode the principle of independence and impartiality should be resisted. Present obsession with the geographical distribution of places in the Secretariat is directing attention away from what have always been the real problems: how to attract the best people into international service, and how to enable those that are attracted to develop a sense of full commitment to the international idea. The geographical distribution of the professional staff is much more equitable than one might imagine after listening to some of the more vociferous delegates. The professional staff, excluding linguistic posts, is as follows:

Western countries	57 per cent
Communist countries	10 per cent
Africa and Asia	24 per cent
Latin America	9 per cent

The percentage of Westerners is steadily dropping, and within a few years virtually every state will have an adequate number of citizens in the Secretariat. Change in the geographical spread of staff should be kept within the concept of a career service, and this means, in effect, that a limit should be set for the proportion of national officials seconded from governments for short periods of service in the Secretariat.

In the long run, of course, the effectiveness of the United Nations requires an increasing willingness on the part of states to subordinate temporary national advantage to some system of world law. But the fact that progress towards that goal will be slow is no excuse for not doing now those things within our grasp which would improve the chances that the United Nations we have will work better.

ITALIAN PREDICAMENT

AXEL HEYST

THE Fanfani Cabinet has presented its programme to the Chamber of Deputies. The experiment in the 'opening to the Left', *apertura a sinistra*, has begun. The new Government is based on a coalition of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans. It presupposes a measure of support from the Socialists under Nenni, and its social programme is definitely radical, when compared with those outlined by the previous Cabinets, steered by the same *Democrazia Cristiana*. This orientation, and not so much the composition of the new Government, distinguishes the new Fanfani team from former coalitions.

The issue was thrashed out during the hectic days of the *Democrazia Cristiana* meeting at Naples where, broadly speaking, two "orientations" fought: one sponsoring a right-wing coalition, another advocating an *apertura a sinistra*. The latter has won the battle. This should be deemed an advantage for the country. The various "openings to the Right" have been tried and found wanting. What Italy needs are broad changes based on agricultural reform, overhaul of the educational system, raised standards of living for the comparatively neglected South, the *mezzogiorno* which comprises not only the "boot of Italy" but also the fair island of Sicily (indeed, the whole region south of Rome; the Abruzzi region is also among the neglected). Italy has made tremendous strides towards prosperity, but this seems to be limited to the North, Lombardy and Tuscany, as well as the region around Genoa, are thriving, but the further south one moves from Rome, the more apparent becomes the difference between the "two countries", as many people still say—North and South.

The North remains a magnet to the population from the South. However, an attraction of this kind is by no means a purely Italian phenomenon: the same can be observed in France, where the population moves from the South-West and South-East towards the North and Paris, in pre-war Germany there was a constant migration from the Eastern marches of the Reich to the Rhineland, in Spain people are flocking from Andalusia to Catalonia. The lure of better wages and better living conditions acts as a powerful stimulus; and measures taken by both the State and by praiseworthy private initiative, of which an instance is the well-known enterprise of Danilo Dolci in Sicily, are still inadequate. The poverty of those southern regions is deeply ingrained, it is centuries-old, to remove its stigma from Calabria and Sicily will take decades.

The new Government has at last realized that an effort must be made to speed up the long overdue social programme, especially in education, which until now has been both fragmentary and neglected. This education reform will give to the so-called lower classes a much better chance for making a start in life, and it will provide Italy with the new schools, particularly technical, she sorely lacks. Of course, one can expect a long fight with the ecclesiastical elements which consider schools their province, clericalism has for centuries looked upon education as its prerogative.

Italy must move ahead with education if she wants to catch up with other Western nations

Agriculture is an eternal sore in Italy: the problem of the neglected lands in the south, the absentee landowners, and *avant tout*, the lack of equipment for mechanization of the land. On paper, agricultural reform is all but complete but it is far from being implemented, due to the lack of funds, the poverty of the farmers, who cannot buy plots to supplement their dwarf estates, and the absence of machinery which could raise the yield of the land. This is a crying need, and the new Government will have to do something

While industry managed to march with giant strides, and while Italy has been developing new skills, like "fashion", and bettering old ones, like car construction, agriculture has remained almost stationary. In the North, industry has shown its dynamism, often to the detriment of the landscape which is changed beyond recognition: many places around the lovely Northern lakes have now been transformed into bustling industrial centres. Factories are scattered everywhere, smoke belches from factory chimneys, there is a complete transformation of some of the former beauty spots of Northern Italy. Factories are moving, too, towards the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, they want to be supplied with oil and other materials straight from the ports, or to be fed through pipelines. The coast, formerly ruled by crowds of tourists, is now often dotted with the outposts of industry.

However, the coasts, Tyrrhenian, Ligurian and Adriatic, are full of tourists and the number of foreigners visiting Italy increases every year. Last year a total of nearly 20 millions was attained; never in her history has Italy been so popular with foreign tourists. One can say that the *Mare Nostrum*, of which Mussolini was so keen to boast, is fast becoming a *Mare Germanicum*, the Germans not only constitute the majority of foreign tourists in Italy (well over 70 per cent) but they are also buying up land in all places, discovering new beauties around Diamante and Palinuro and towards Reggio in the hitherto neglected region of Calabria. German villas, some resplendent, some modest, are popping up like mushrooms on every stretch of coast in Italy.

This tremendous invasion by foreign tourists brings Italy a sizeable income, and it also turns the country into a truly "international fair". Foreign investments are likewise on the increase, foreign firms are building branches and factories in Italy, and this is not limited to the Northern regions—one can see new foreign enterprises in most unlikely places in the South. International capital appraises the country as a good investment; the stability of the currency is a factor, though there will probably be a currency reform as at present it is as unwieldy as the old French franc.

Presidential elections proved to be a protracted fight. After nine rounds Antonio Segni emerged victorious. His election was hailed by public opinion as a victory of political commonsense. There is every reason to believe that Segni will follow in the footsteps of such a President as Einaudi who set a fine example of impartiality and was an "above-the-parties" man. In his previous responsible posts, like that of Minister of Education, Segni

demonstrated a sense of proportion and conciliation. As a Foreign Minister he loyally pursued the goals of NATO and of European integration

Politically, Italy seems to be living in a period of calm, involving a considerable loss of energy, and of any fierce combativeness in all parties. The Communists are now a shadow of what they were soon after the war, when they emerged, from chaos and confusion, the strongest Communist party in Europe. The strife between the Communists and the de Gasperi party, the *Democrazia Cristiana*, was the main theme of Italian post-war politics, and it was often predicted by people of timid heart that the Communists would triumph. They were backed by the might and glory of the victorious Soviet Union; they were promising the radical reforms which Italy sorely needed, they had the forcefulness of a party which had fought the Germans, in the last phases of the war, in courageous partisan actions. Still, the Italian CP not only did not ride to victory, it has declined over the years in its energy, its leadership has aged, and Togliatti, like his counterpart in France, Thorez, is a tired man. A revolutionary party must advance all the time, if it loses momentum, it loses its *raison d'être*. Revolution cannot be postponed for too long, and the backing of Russia and her brand of Communism have become a burden rather than a help.

Of this the Italian CP became conscious long ago—during the XXIIInd Moscow meeting the Italians advanced their claims for greater freedom from the Moscow centre and for the necessity for self-criticism as well as what they call the “internal democracy” of the party. Their theories were even published in some Communist countries, notably in Poland, but not in Russia, and during their own meetings and inner party discussions in Rome the problem of gaining greater independence from Moscow was ventilated. It was assumed by some observers that the Italian CP will take a bold step and advance its own programme, which will influence the French CP to proclaim its own brand of Communism—an Italian version on the pattern of the Yugoslav variety. But after many fanfares and forecasts of drastic change, which would indeed greatly influence the development of the Communist movement throughout the world, Italian comrades prevaricated and postponed their decision. This only means that they lack mental courage, the secession from the Moscow camp, or at least a lessening of their dependence on it, would revitalize the Italian Communist movement. Obviously, the reason for such hesitation was the feeling among the Communist hierarchy, especially among older members, such as Togliatti, that the unity of the camp could be greatly endangered by such a move. At a time when Russia is conducting a silent war with the Chinese comrades, an action against Communist solidarity would be a harmful blow to the cause.

The Communist Party in Italy is retreating in the field of endeavour. It should amaze nobody, if at the next elections, the CP lost votes, and if many voters transferred allegiance to either of the Socialist parties, Nenni or Saragat.

But the DC, the old de Gasperi party, has also lost much of its momentum, like its counterparts in France and in West Germany, MRP and CDU. This is not only the result of tiredness following a long spell

at the helm as the "ruling party" but also of the lack of such men of vision as de Gasperi. Though Fanfani is an able and lively politician, a loyal and staunch ally of the West, he could not generate emotional heat and zeal concerning issues such as European union. Italy is one of the main pillars of the Common Market, but her voice in the progress of European integration is not now as loud as it used to be, Belgium, through Spaak, and even Holland seem to be more vociferous.

The Liberal Party, which is now dead against the Fanfani Government, is something of a puzzle to any foreign observer. "The party of Cavour" experienced a revival after the war under the leadership of Croce, Einaudi and Brosio, but during the last ten years or so it has been constantly losing ground, in spite of the political perspicacity and abilities of its leader, Malagodi. Its numerical strength in Parliament is small, a radical splinter group, which controls an excellent weekly, *Il Mondo*, has further weakened its dynamism. Italian Liberals are, by English Liberal and Radical standards, definitely on the Right of the political spectrum. Anti-nationalisation, they are also against State intervention in economic affairs. They are still influential as far as public opinion is concerned, especially in matters of civil liberty, and they enjoy the backing of big industry, but politically many regard the party as a "dead duck".

There is no doubt that a process similar to that which can be observed in many European countries—the abatement of the political wave and of what the Germans call *Entpolitisierung der Politik*—also took place in Italy. The country is less politically explosive than ever before, it wants to concentrate on economic issues. This is for the good of Italy; what she needs is a long period of internal peace, and what people call the great reconciliation—between the parties of the Right and the parties of the Left. This strife seems to bedevil Italian political history.

What Italy also needs is the measure of autonomy which was promised in the post-war Constitution of 1948 but was never properly realized. It has been granted to only four provinces: Sardinia, Sicily, Alto Adige and Val d' Aosta. But even in those four special regions—and more especially in the North where three autonomous regions were considered, Umbria, Emilia, Tuscany, this was withheld because it was feared that this "red belt" would bring Communist and Socialist elements to the fore and that "reds" would rule the North. It was argued that such a move would endanger the unity of the country.

But the fact remains that centralisation proved harmful to the interest of Italy, probably as much as it was harmful to the destinies of Germany. Bismarck's Reich and the unification of Germany strengthened in Germany the militaristic fervour and the expansionist drive. In Italy the *Risorgimento* hoisted the banner of unification on the centralisation model, not on the Swiss one, which would have proved a much better solution. A federation would better serve the interest of Italy and would give greater vitality to various regions. It would probably have kept Italy out of such adventures as Fascism and the disastrous decision to enter the war on the wrong side. A federal Italy would probably have been a neutral country. Again, it would have been much more profitable for her to have chosen the

paths of Switzerland or Sweden than to seek the rôle of a great conquering nation

Now her course cannot be fully restored, but the 1948 Constitution tried to remedy the former centralistic tendencies and promised autonomy on a large scale to various provinces. This policy should be continued, for Italy can revitalize its life and communal energies only by decentralisation. Witness Sicily, afflicted by paralysis for years. It is to be hoped that both Sicily and Sardinia will profit from the measure of autonomy granted to them. Sardinia is showing every sign of re-birth. This is mainly due to the influx of foreign tourists and foreign capital. New hotels and motels are being built. Elba can boast an even greater activity. Whole stretches of the Elban coast are bought by international concerns. They have changed them into huge beaches which will attract thousands of tourists in search of uncommon landscape.

Italian industrial production rose in 1960 by 14 per cent, the highest rise of all European countries; but agricultural production fell by 3 per cent (it rose again by 5 per cent in 1961). Gross national product increased in 1961 by 6.5 per cent (it was 7 per cent in 1960, by far the best year in the post-war period). In 1961 industrial production rose by only 8 per cent, obviously the momentum of 1960's spectacular rise could not be maintained.

The fall in agricultural production was not only stopped; it is expected that, by modernization of the small-size farm, it will rise in 1962. A balance of population in agriculture and in industry has been achieved. 35 per cent work on the land, 35 per cent in industry. It is estimated that by 1970 about 40 per cent will work in industry and only 20 per cent on the land. Already about 8 per cent work in mines and nearly 7 per cent in the electricity and gas industries.

Lack of equilibrium between the North and South seems to be remedied by the fact that a third of the investments in 1961 went to the *Mezzogiorno*. In 1954 the *per capita* income in the South was about \$250, in 1961 it rose to \$350. In the North, this ratio is of course much bigger. The Vanoni Plan aims at the levelling of those drastic differences between North and South.

Italy has still about 900,000 unemployed. Emigration of Italian workmen to Germany has been slack in recent years, though it was once on a huge scale. The same can be said of France. The Italian exodus to Britain is much less than it used to be. Climatic and housing conditions militate against it. Switzerland still absorbs a great contingent of Italians. The population pressure is now less than before the war, the increase has lessened.

The picture which emerges in mid-1962 is of a nation driven by economic passion rather than by politics, a country bent on bettering its lot and raising its standard of living; one trying to cure the old wounds of centralisation and of cleavage between Left and Right. If this programme can be fulfilled, Italy will be a happier and stronger nation.

LIBERALISM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*

QAZIM E KASTRATI

DON SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, President of Honour of the Liberal International, has said "The world was never in greater need of Liberalism, nor were Liberals ever in greater need of mutual help, for the ideas and ideals they incarnate, which are the very framework of civilization, are threatened more than ever by slogans and dogmas more dangerous than those of the past"

The dangerous slogans and dogmas of Fascism and Nazism have now been largely discredited and disowned. The still more dangerous dogmas of Marxism-Leninism, and the tyrannous dictatorships to which they have given rise, remain a greater threat than ever before. Communist régimes now dominate a vast territory, Communist ideology is instilled into many millions of people in the Soviet Empire and outside it. The difficulties and conflicts that Communist leaders are now facing everywhere, following the exposure of Stalin's crimes, have brought into evidence the widespread demand for at least some measure of liberalization of Communist rule. This demand forces the Communist rulers to give way here and there and seek some compromise. Once begun, this process is not easy to halt or permanently to reverse. As it continues on its doubtless chequered course, it is likely to incline the more thoughtful minds among the many peoples the Soviet rulers now control to turn with growing conviction towards those principles which are fundamental to our own liberal beliefs. It is in this hope for the future, however distant and uncertain, that I now approach the subject of the prospects of liberalism in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

I must confess at once I bring to it no first-hand report of my own, not even the experience of a few days in the Soviet Union that has enabled quite a number of Western travellers to feel they can lecture and write as authorities on conditions and prospects there. Nor have I visited, since the war, any of the ten countries of Central and Eastern Europe whose 110 million inhabitants are still cut off by the Iron Curtain from free contact with their fellow-Europeans in the West. So I can depict only such prospects as an internationally-minded Liberal exile, settled in this country since 1940, can seem to discern in the light of ten years' BBC broadcasting to Albania, studying the monitored reports of broadcasts from there, from the other captive European nations in the Soviet bloc, and from Russia itself, studying also the scraps of information gathered from exiles from behind the Iron Curtain, from the press, from books, and from some well-informed reports to which I have had access.

Though I am convinced that the human urge for freedom, justice and economic well-being will gradually wear down even the most determined dictatorship; I am certainly not able to predict even the eventual triumph of Liberalism, as we know it, in the USSR and its satellite states. Nor does my experience as a student of international affairs in this very disturbed and uncertain mid-twentieth century permit any very assured fore-

* *Address at the recent Conference of the British Group of the Liberal International at Buxton. Mr Kastrati is Joint Hon. Secretary of the Group.*

casting of the events in the next few decades. I shall simply point to any grounds I see for hope

For *hope* we must—even under the menace of nuclear destruction. And we must not forget the message given to us by the late Gilbert Murray: “It is no good just hoping that things will work out well. Each one of us who has at heart the causes of freedom, tolerance and justice must make his or her contribution to their defence.”

As regards the ten captive European nations (and I include among them the people of Ulbricht’s Eastern Germany) there may not at present be anything very much in the way of a contribution that it is in our hands to make. The Western world cannot risk nuclear war by trying to free them—not even if they would want that. But at least we should not cease to *care*, and show we care. If nothing else, it helps their morale. For us, it is a moral strength to resist taking the easier path of cynical indifference to the suffering and injustice of which we ourselves are not the victims.

One important way of indicating to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain that their fate is not forgotten by everyone in the West has been adopted in the USA. This is the annual and officially recognized observance of a Captive Nations Week. One of the highlights is a proclamation issued by the President. In 1961, President Kennedy’s first year in office, it is said to have been prepared by him personally and was felt by some to improve on the proclamations in the two preceding years, in that it supported explicitly “the just aspirations of all peoples for national independence and freedom.” The week began on July 16 of that year, and citizen committees in various parts of the country, with more experience than before, and with a background of planning and more efficient co-ordination by the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington, organized the observance of the week with increased skill.

This annual Captive Nations Week not only helps to bring afresh to the notice of the US press and public the plight of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, but reports of it are broadcast to them, as is the Presidential proclamation. There is no doubt that these proclamations are noted carefully in the Soviet Union, in its satellite states, and in the free world, and taken as reflecting the foreign policy thinking of the US Government. Such manifestations of concern by the outside world help to foster among the Soviet-dominated peoples interest in western broadcasts, policies and ways of thought, and their effect, such as it is, will be to encourage a demand for liberalization.

During the 1961 observance, there was one step that was urged over and over again. This was the creation by Congress of a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations, through whose investigations, hearings and reports the attention of world opinion would be drawn both to the victims of Soviet imperialism and colonialism, and also to the threat Soviet policies offer to the rest of the world. This is indeed a desirable step.

It is said that the Soviet leaders are particularly sensitive to any references to the fact that 110 million non-Russian Europeans were brought under Soviet domination after the last war and to the way they have been exploited. Also to references to the non-Russian victims of Russian

colonialism that constitute nearly half the population of the Soviet Union itself. If the Soviet rulers are indeed sensitive on this point, mention of these telling facts more frequently and in more detail than is done now might possibly do a little to improve the lot of these captive peoples. It might also make Nikita Khrushchev and his propaganda machine a little less voluble, and less plausible, in their denunciations of the western powers in general and of colonialism in particular.

In his broadcast on "Coexistence and Diplomacy" (*The Listener*, April 12), Sir William Hayter, Ambassador to the USSR from 1953 to 1957, reminded us that "Coexistence" as defended and advocated by Khrushchev and his associates, meant every means of undermining us short of nuclear war. In face of this cold fact, some thought it the best diplomacy to have purely formal relations with them on a routine basis, accepting the *status quo* and not seeking negotiations or agreements; and there was something to be said for this. "But the trouble is that the Soviet Government's idea of the *status quo* is different from ours. What they mean by the *status quo* is that we ought to recognize and accept their conquests in Eastern Europe and other places and leave them a free hand to do what they like in the rest of the world. There is more to it than this. The Russians always refuse to negotiate about their own subjected zone, and if we so much as mention this, we are wicked cold warriors, but at the same time they are always proposing negotiations about other areas and other subjects." As regards negotiations with the Soviet Union, Sir William thought that we might come upon subjects which it would suit us both to settle, even if our general quarrel continues. "It looks, then, as if we ought not to refuse negotiations, ought perhaps on the contrary to seek them, though we do not need to accept the Soviet veto on discussing matters on their side of the Iron Curtain if we think any good will come of raising them."

In their anti-Western propaganda that forms so prominent a feature of Soviet "coexistence" policy, one thing the Communist leaders fiercely denounce is nationalism. They denounce it, that is, in their own subject nations while often playing on it elsewhere—and we ourselves have seen nationalism run to disastrous excess. But in its positive aspect it is one of the natural, unifying and valuable group loyalties that fill a human need and bring out some of man's finest qualities. Just as strong family ties and loyalties can make better citizens, so national sentiment and solidarity can make for better international understanding and co-operation. It should not be fought as such, but fitted into the wider relationships that the progress of science has brought about.

Liberalism itself tends naturally towards internationalism and world government. But as E. H. Carr wrote in 1945 "The driving force behind any future international order must be a belief, however expressed, in the value of individual human beings irrespective of national affinities or allegiance and in a common and mutual obligation to promote their well-being"¹. This liberal concept is poles apart from Soviet imperialist policy and practice.

Let us now turn to look for any grounds of hope for the prospects of Liberalism behind the Iron Curtain in what has happened to some of the

countries round which it was first drawn, by Stalin. We shall not, of course, expect to find even the smallest organized Liberal Party in any Communist-dominated country: at best some slight liberalizing of the régime imposed on it, or some factor that seems likely to lead on to this, however reluctant the dictatorship may be to concede it

Looking first at my own country, ALBANIA, recently so much in the news, and at its varied fates since I last saw it on Good Friday, 1939, the day that Mussolini invaded it, the very fact of change since then gives some slight cause for hope, particularly the fact of change since the Communists under Enver Hoxha seized power at the end of 1944. The first four years under Communist rule were with Tito as Hoxha's overlord, then, after the expulsion of Tito's Yugoslavia from the Cominform, there was Hoxha's choice of Stalin rather than Tito as his master, since Stalin's death and a year or two under Malenkov and Bulganin, Albania has had six years under Khrushchev's direction, and now in defiance of Khrushchev the Albanian Communists have put themselves under the protection of Mao Tse-Tung. Although these various changes so far have done nothing to improve Albania's lot, they do at least show some small capacity for manoeuvre, and with it, perhaps, the possibility of a later move towards some liberalization of the régime, but only after the disappearance of Hoxha from the political scene

He himself, and his associates, are out-and-out Stalinists, practising Stalinist ruthlessness and still paying warm official tributes to Stalin's imputed virtues. When de-Stalinization became the policy of the Soviet Union, and the Albanian Communist leadership did not follow suit, Khrushchev accepted its continuance in power, but reluctantly. In 1958 Hoxha joined enthusiastically in Peking's violent anti-Yugoslav campaign, and only under pressure from Moscow toned it down during the 1959 lull. He openly opposed Khrushchev for the first time after the Chinese attacks on the Soviet leader, by refusing to endorse the proposal, made by Bulgaria and Rumania on Soviet instructions, for an atom-free zone in the Balkans. And now his choice of sides in the Soviet-Chinese conflict puts him squarely into the pro-Stalinist and anti-Titoist camp of Mao Tse-Tung.

If China's present dire economic need should result in a renewal of closer Soviet-Chinese co-operation the prospects for Hoxha would seem to be dark indeed. Where can he turn? There is hardly a possibility of his going back to Tito with whom he has cultivated the bitterest enmity ever since 1948, and who, moreover, is again on friendly terms with Khrushchev. Should Khrushchev, Mao Tse-Tung and Tito become linked together Hoxha would have no powerful protector left—unless, perhaps, he were to make his peace with Khrushchev and the latter decided to protect him from the enmity of Tito. In that case a condition would surely be the abandonment by Hoxha of his aggressive Stalinism and "anti-revisionism", and that he agreed to some liberalization of his tyrannical régime. If no reconciliation took place and Hoxha were left without support from outside, that might well be the end of him; for he would be unlikely to find much real support in his own small and impoverished country. Its economy is in any case on the verge of collapse, and such

help as China has promised to give is insufficient to maintain it even if these promises are fulfilled. It would seem, therefore, that Albania might soon be once more hitting the headlines. May the next change in my country's fate at last be one for the better!

Turning now to other countries behind the line of Stalin's curtain we find in the changes that have taken place in some of these since Stalin's death more positive grounds for hope.

AUSTRIA has for some years now been completely relieved of the burden of Soviet occupation of her eastern territory, it is true that the price exacted of her was high, but she is free and she is prospering.

YUGOSLAVIA, for her part, shook her Soviet shackles off in 1948, and though still under Tito's Communist dictatorship wears it rather more lightly since then, for there the Communist leader was forced to permit a little more personal freedom than in the countries under Soviet domination, and also a relaxation of the coercive measures against those who would not work well enough in co-operative farms but only produce adequately if allowed to work their own land, to market their own produce, and to buy more consumer goods. But the main features of Communist totalitarianism still remain. Milovan Djilas, for many years one of the most powerful men in the Yugoslav Communist Party, was disillusioned by its workings as he saw them from within, his book *The New Class*, in which he denounced the inherent evils of the Communist system and its leadership, was smuggled abroad for publication in 1956, it was a shock to which the Government reacted in the way to be expected of it. But though Djilas could be punished it was not in its power to suppress his book. Proscribed as it is in Yugoslavia, there are yet those that manage to read it, as I myself know, and many more that know something of its substance. And there are certainly other thoughtful minds in Yugoslavia that share his views and give hope for further liberalizing of the régime. Now, 14 months after the release of Djilas on probation from the long term of imprisonment imposed on him, he has again dared to send abroad for publication material unwelcome to the Government in spite of the inevitable penalty.

POLAND, though still wearing her Soviet shackles, has somewhat loosened them since Gomulka returned to power in 1956, as a result of the Polish people's insistence on more attention being paid to their national interests and less to the demands of the Kremlin. The Soviet leaders then reluctantly accepted a change that went beyond their wishes, and made considerable concessions to the desire of Gomulka's Government to demonstrate Poland's "equality" and internal autonomy, insisting only on the maintenance of Communist Party dictatorship and receiving new guarantees for continued unity with the Soviet Union in foreign policy.

According to a report in the *Observer* of April 8, Herr Berthold Beitz, who had several times been used by Dr. Adenauer for taking soundings on relations with Poland, had revealed in a German weekly, *Die Zeit*, that in 1956 Gomulka, urgently needing Western aid to rid his country of the Stalinism under which he himself had previously been persecuted, invited Dr. Adenauer to Poland. Dr. Adenauer did not think it wise to accept,

but it seems likely that if Poland's present Western frontier should at some time be recognized by Western Germany and the other NATO powers, there is every prospect that Poland would try to shake herself still more free of the rulers in the Kremlin, and renew once more her economic and cultural relations with the West. Meanwhile, verbal criticism seems to go on uninhibited there.

When the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1961, carried still further the steps taken by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress in 1956 to discredit Stalin and destroy his image, Gomulka fully utilized its impact to justify his autonomous agricultural policy. In Poland 85 per cent of the land is still cultivated by individual owners, and since 1956 its output has increased by one-third, and is steadily increasing, so much so that last January, when P. Demichev, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, visited Warsaw, he complimented the Poles upon the good quality of their agricultural output for the year, and expressed the hope that it would "continue to develop, maintaining the present tempo of evolution."

By contrast, in BULGARIA, the first of the Eastern European states to embark extensively on Stalin's policy of collectivized agriculture, output has fallen ruinously. In the coming harvest in this and other satellite states, it is expected to decline by about 4 per cent. Widespread passive resistance is reported among the peasants, and serious dissensions within the Party.

In RUMANIA, though collectivization proceeded more slowly than in most of the other satellite states, her grain crop has regularly failed to reach the target set for it. During the last few months collectivization has been speeded and by the middle of last March was said to be complete. The results have yet to be seen, but unless new incentives and pressures can make them different from those produced by collectivization in other countries in the Soviet bloc, the prospects are hardly encouraging.

HUNGARY'S heroic bid for freedom in 1956 was, as we all know, bloodily suppressed by the tanks and guns of the Soviet Union, but not before all the world had evidence of the combined will of its intellectuals, students and workers to create a more liberal régime. There is no doubt that this desire is still alive however much disheartened by the lack of effective support from the West.

But though the revolution was crushed the hated Stalinist Rakosi was not restored to power. He was replaced by the so-called "moderate reformer" Kadar, and to Hungary, too, the Soviet Union conceded some degree of autonomy. Kadar now balances between two forces: the Stalinists who regained their position after the revolution was suppressed, and the so-called "revisionists" who still survive among the intellectuals, workers and peasants, and who demand liberalization. How strong these forces are can be seen from Kadar's present dilemma. To give way any more to the Stalinists would mean that his régime would have to deal with increased dissatisfaction among the "revisionists", and would have to deviate from Khrushchev's line as endorsed by the 22nd Congress in Moscow, already known as the Congress of the "second de-Stalinization". But to grant any concessions to the "revisionists" would mean to repeat

the conditions of the summer of 1956 with the possibility of once again endangering the survival of the Communist system in Hungary. Therefore the Kadar régime is forced to take the middle road and its response to the line taken by the 22nd Congress was to adopt a resolution referring to de-Stalinization, but one that was mildly worded. The Stahlnists were treated in a friendly manner.

The popular state of mind, however, is far from relaxed. The intellectuals have been deprived of creative freedom, the workers are extremely dissatisfied with the anti-social atmosphere in the factories, and the peasants are in a very restless mood. The total collectivization of land resulted last year in a lower agricultural output, probably the lowest in the past ten years. The pilfering of collective farm produce is growing, and the official Communist press has admitted that in some collective farms more or less large groups of peasants have opposed the management "with an eye towards getting rid of it". One provincial newspaper has written "There are people here who are hoping to achieve, if not the dissolution, at least the weakening of the kholkoz sector"²

In CZECHOSLOVAKIA, as in EASTERN GERMANY, little more than lip-service, if that, has been paid to the policy of de-Stalinization. The Stahlnist leader, President Novotny, still remains firmly in the saddle, and has indeed now dealt this policy a very serious blow. As reported by Lajos Lederer in the *Observer* recently, the 15-year sentence passed on Rudolf Barak, Czechoslovakia's former Deputy-Premier, "has liquidated Novotny's most powerful opponent, in complete defiance of the spirit and resolution adopted at the 22nd Moscow Congress". Barak, we are told, "had been groomed by Moscow to take over the Party leadership". Arrested in February, on a charge of embezzling Party funds, he was accused of leading an anti-Party group "with the aim of taking control of the Party and Government". He was not given the public trial promised at the time of his arrest, and was sentenced, by a military court, not for political crimes but for civil offences.

Lederer concludes that "President Novotny's move confirms previous suspicions that he will have no interference from Moscow".

Since it is now Khrushchev's policy to allow the leaders in the satellite states more say in their own affairs it looks as though Czechoslovakia may perhaps have to wear her Stalinist fetters for some time yet. But the proud memory of her two decades of independence and true democracy, under the enlightened guidance of Presidents Masaryk and Benesh, must still be cherished in many hearts there, and one cannot doubt that there are many who would grasp at any chance of getting a more liberal régime than the one they have endured since the Communist *coup d'état* of 1948. Though the new constitution then given to them was, on the face of it, almost as liberally democratic as that of 1920, the guarantees it contains are in fact nullified by the usual Communist devices, including that of permitting only a single list of candidates at any election and ensuring that all on it are followers of the Communist Party line.

In EASTERN GERMANY, the maintenance of Ulbricht and his fellow-Stalinists in power is part of Soviet foreign policy. The urge of its people

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to rid themselves of this oppressive rule has been amply demonstrated by their armed rising against it and by the massive escape of people to the West. During Easter last year some 7,000 surged over.

In LATVIA, LITHUANIA and ESTHONIA, the three Baltic states which were not even given their paper independence but annexed outright, any liberal elements that were known or suspected were carried off into Siberia or otherwise liquidated. But there, too, the urge for a more liberal form of government is not likely to be wanting.

Last of all let us turn to the SOVIET UNION itself to see what cracks are already showing in Stalin's monolith and what pressures that will help to weaken its rigidity.

We need look no farther than Boris Pasternak's world-famous book *Dr Zhivago*, smuggled abroad for publication like that of Milovan Djilas, to know that there are thinking minds in the Soviet Union that see clearly the evils inherent in its authoritarian régime, and have the courage to expose them. And recently we have had the spectacle of Ilya Ehrenburg, President of the Soviet Writers' Union and hitherto a spokesman of the régime, now venturing to defend the dead Pasternak against his official detractors.

As to the younger generation, the poems of Yevgeny Yevtushenko, with their passionate attacks on the abuses of the régime into which he was born, and which he accepts, voice the feelings of many others of his generation. That he can be so fiercely critical and still remain at large is itself evidence of a weakening of Stalinism. There is in fact a large and growing number of people in the Soviet Union who, having been given an advanced education, especially in some branch of applied science, are able also to use their developed critical faculties on the administration as they see it and the political set-up that creates it. The *Listener* of April 12 reported a very interesting reply by A. J. Ayer, Professor of Logic at Oxford University, to questions put to him in "Radio Newsreel" on the impressions he gained in the course of his five recent lectures to students and professors at Moscow University. He said he thought the Russians were anxious to make contact now with the West, that they were feeling their isolation, and that all now looked back on the Stalin period as a very unpleasant period to them and also a period in which the Russians did become rather unhappily divorced from the rest of the world. Professor Ayer also received the impression that on theoretical questions the Russian intellectuals were not sucking closely to the Party line. He added "Particularly the younger people were anxious for new ideas. When I said things critical of their political orthodoxies there was an obvious response from the younger people in the audience, and this seemed to me encouraging."

Again, the continual Communist indoctrination, to which all but the oldest generation have been subjected all their lives, is reported to be found boring by many. Also unconvincing, for as Dr Micklem has said "The Marxist predictions of the withering of the State show no signs of fulfilment. Russia is no more a classless society than is ours, nor has the institution of a Socialist régime delivered man from selfishness

or cruelty or the love of power and of domination”³ And the revelations of Stalin’s crimes and true character after the years of official glorification of him must have created great disillusionment, and badly shaken credulity in official propaganda. The Communists’ form of Socialism after being tried and tested for over four decades in the Soviet Union and nearly two decades in its satellite states has shown itself to be a corrupt and ruthless tyranny, sustained by force of arms and the secret police, as far removed from a free democracy as any other totalitarian tyranny, and as utterly immoral.

So much for some of the pressures from within. They will have, and are indeed already having, a liberalizing effect, however gradual. Nevertheless, Milovan Djilas is no doubt right in his forecast in his latest book: “As long as the Russian Communist Party fails to break . . . with everything that comprised the very originality and essence of Stalin and Stalinism, namely with the ideological unitarianism and so-called monolithic structure of the Party, it will be a bad but reliable sign that it has not emerged from Stalin’s shadow. Stalin’s dark presence continues to hover and—assuming that there will not be a war—one can fear that it will hover over the Soviet Union for a relatively long time. Despite the curses against his name, Stalin still lives in the social and spiritual foundations of the Soviet society.”

What then of the monolithic structure that Stalin was able to impose on the international Communist movement? He had forced on it acceptance of the principle that the struggle of all the Communist Parties must be subordinated to promoting the interests of the “fatherland of all the toilers”, and that the expansion of Soviet power was a necessary concomitant of the advance of the Communist system. But already in his lifetime the monolith had begun to crack. Yugoslavia had broken away and survived as an independent state, and the victory of Communism in China foreshadowed further difficulties in maintaining this concept.

As Professor Richard Lowenthal has pointed out in a penetrating analysis of Soviet policy since Khrushchev took the reins,⁴ Khrushchev replaced this concept by another, which could, he believed, be used as a decisive source of strength. Its line of reasoning was as follows. China, and even Yugoslavia, had proved that the age of Soviet isolation was now over. The old imperialist order being in process of disintegration in face of revolutionary movements among the colonial peoples, new independent Communist victories would now be possible if given the help and encouragement of the Soviet Union. By recognizing the independence of China and Yugoslavia, giving some substance to the fictitious independence of the satellite governments and parties in the form of increased autonomy, and proclaiming the right and duty of all Communist Parties to find their own roads to victory according to national conditions, he hoped to strengthen greatly the cohesion of the Communist camp—also its attraction. The time had at last come when Soviet power and world revolution could advance in step, without a conflict of interests, and with the Soviet Union’s position as head of the camp assured by its ideological authority and unique rôle as the first and most powerful member of the system.

This concept was embodied in his report to the 20th Congress in 1956,

the Congress at which he first denounced his former master Stalin. But the slight loosening of the grip on the satellite states, the disclosure of Stalin's crimes, the involvement of many East European Communist leaders in the "anti-Trotskyist" phase of these crimes, and the general uncertainty about the ultimate outcome of Kremlin rivalries, led to bitter and prolonged struggles within the leadership of a number of East European Communist Parties and also to the Hungarian bid for freedom against great odds. The struggles within parties still continue.

With some modification, and a retreat here and there in face of opposition from his rivals and from Stalinists at home and abroad, and of failures in his industrial and agricultural policies, Nikita Khrushchev still maintains the policy of de-Stalinization to which he is committed and the degree of liberalization this involves. The process is hard to reverse, and is more likely to go forward even though its course may be erratic. In this, and the pressures behind it, lies the best prospect for the *eventual* growth of liberalism in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

It may be a long time in coming. But, although the thought may not be of much comfort to those in distress behind this barrier to freedom, or wearing out their lives as exiles feeling cut off and without roots, there is a certain reassurance in taking a long view ahead. For myself I can say that though the sufferings of my people are never far from my mind, and I deeply cherish the hope and belief that they will win through the present dark period as they have won through others in the past, I have resigned myself to the painful fact that this may not be realized in my own lifetime. I have found that one's fears and anxieties for one's people, and for other peoples, seem less desperate if measured not only by the scale of our own short lives but by the long history of mankind, in which decades are but moments. The Communist régimes may last for many decades yet, but I firmly believe in the truth of what President Masaryk once said: "No State or policy can prosper unless the groundwork is moral. No State can long stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality."

On this personal and not unhopeful note I close my survey of such prospects as I seem to discern of liberalism behind the Iron Curtain, and in conclusion turn my glance to the West. In fighting Communism with ideas as we must if we are to prevail, I feel many more of us in the West are coming to know better the wider aspects of freedom, both political and economic, and many thoughtful minds are trying to think far more clearly about rights, duties and values as they affect national freedom and civil liberty for mankind as a whole. And on both sides of the Iron Curtain a steadily growing number of people seem to realize, with Samuel Eliot Morison, that "no danger is great enough to cause us to lay the armor of freedom aside as obsolete, or to turn it in for a dictator, armed with an atom bomb and supported by secret police."⁵

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LIBERAL ATTITUDES—

THE CONTEMPORARY PARTY

EDWIN MALINDINE

President of the British Liberal Party

TODAY we are witnessing democracy at work in its healthiest form. By-elections are recording maximum polls, even as high as 80 per cent and over. TV and the Press have swiftly responded to the new look, election results are treated like sporting events. Not to be left behind, even local elections have leapt forward in competition and interest.

What has brought about this dramatic change? Why is it being expressed in a nation-wide Liberal revival? Is it due to some master-plan laid in London? Has some secret fund been amassed to match the resources of the other two parties? Are we merely witnessing the triumph of force, of material means? To all these questions the answer is NO.

The Liberal Party has, of course, done its best to employ its limited resources to best advantage. We have encouraged growth at the roots. Our finances are improving daily. But our party funds are but a shade of the vast sums spent by our opponents. The short answer is that, in the main, the effort of the Liberal Party is a voluntary effort.

The political revolution being enacted is in truth a rising of the PEOPLE. This is democracy at its best, with the people, by their votes, demanding action. Of course they are protesting—protesting with their votes. That is how a democracy works. That is what voting is all about. Electors are protesting against complacency and deadliness.

The face of the Liberals today is the face of the people of Britain. The people who voted Liberal in the by-elections and in the local elections are creating the party in their own image. What is exciting about the Liberal Party, what distinguishes it from the others, is that it is being created *here and now* by the people for the people. Liberals are not trying to impose on the country a set of ideas based on class or self-interest or outmoded tradition; rather, it is—and this is what political parties are really for—taking its strength and its energy from the increasing vocal demand for responsible up-to-date government.

The strength of the Liberal Party is that this is a party in the making, a party which is growing, a party that is evolving alongside the changing needs of the voting public. The reaction of our opponents is interesting and revealing. First, they attacked the intelligence of the electors by saying that they did not know what they were voting for. Then they said that Liberals had no policy. Seeing that the Government is fast losing votes because it has no policy, and that the Socialists are split on most major issues of policy, that did not wash.

Now the Tories have fallen back on the oldest card in the pack. "You will put in the Socialists" is their despairing cry.

The Prime Minister said in Inverness, after the local elections: "If the reports spoke true, they might at the moment be taking two votes from the Conservatives for every one from Labour. It seemed an odd way of

carrying out their professed intention of replacing the Socialists as the principal Opposition Party”

I thought the ballot was secret! But is the Prime Minister really suggesting that the Liberals have become so fiendishly efficient that they can even select WHICH electors shall vote for them? Again, Mr Macleod asserted that “a sure way to put the Socialists in office is to vote Liberal” We know Mr Macleod is very clever, but I would have thought the sure way to put Liberals in office is to vote LIBERAL In fact, by voting Liberal—and in no other way could it have been done—electors “put in office” many hundreds of new Liberal Councillors

Had we fought more seats, as we shall undoubtedly do next time, we should have won even more seats and Labour would have won fewer seats In the by-elections we have come close to winning both Socialist and Tory-held seats In Orpington, when a Tory seat was lost, people by voting Liberal, and only by voting Liberal, elected a Liberal And the Socialist lost his deposit

As Liberals gain more and more strength so more and more people will vote for them Many of the voters who are changing from the Tories were never Tory anyway They only sheltered with them because they did not think Liberals could win in those days Now they are returning to their natural home Eventually Mr George Brown will have to amend his theme “Brother, we’re on our way” to “Brother, we’re on our way OUT” In every election in my time, Tories have exploited the fear of Socialism with the negative cry “Keep out the Socialists” Now they are busily dusting the banner ready for use after eleven years of complete Tory rule! Are we to suffer inept Tory Government forever because we are not capable of building an alternative? Must we repeat history by agonisingly waiting for a Tory statesman to say to his own Government “For God’s sake go”?

The people are showing by their votes what they think of this bankrupt appeal

The matchless spirit of the influx of volunteers who make the modern Liberal army, are those who have accepted that if there is a need for leadership and a modern approach there is a duty in the true sense of democracy, to come forward and help shape events I do not think they will be frightened off their course by the old expedient “Keep out the Socialists”

Electors seem more concerned to “Put in the Liberals” To answer the argument, as it were, in its own coin, even the most arrogant party man cannot hope that his side governs forever At least, not in a democracy If the contest were to be reserved for Tories and Socialists, the Socialists would come back as sure as night follows day Liberals are rising today for two very clear reasons One, electors want something better than the outdated class struggle Two, Liberals have stuck to their principles and to the philosophy that personal freedom should be supreme and that barriers between nations should be broken Our international outlook and our approach to problems make us today the CONTEMPORARY party

MIRROR OF SHADOWS

DERYCK ABEL

A GREAT philosopher tells us that man thinks only when he has to meet a challenge. John Dewey opines that man thinks when his comfort is threatened, when he cannot expand or develop, or when he comes to the forked road. Is not this the "story" behind the verdict of the Orpington electors? And of post-Orpington voters too? They met a challenge. They faced it responsibly and resolutely. All honour to them! They have blown sky-high a 30-year-old political pattern. And that is all to the good. The electors repudiate it as a bad pattern for 1962. What is so obvious about Orpington, Montgomeryshire, West Derbyshire, West Middlesbrough, and all that—so self-evident that it eludes many commentators—is that the electors are looking out for people who are sensitive to and responsive to the 1962 climate of ideas.

Within a few hours of the first Liberal over-all victory against the combined Anti-Liberal forces, an old time tribal refrain was yet again invoked. This time it was not the "split" or "wasted" vote theme (an intellectually spineless slogan if ever there were one!), but "The Liberals haven't a policy." The truth is that the Anti-Liberals don't want the Liberals to have a policy, and they don't want the electors to inform themselves about it. They cherish Liberal "idealism" rather than ideals, much as the Lady of Shalott cherished mirrored Camelot. The Liberals have, on the contrary, too much policy—perhaps.

It is all there—from that last much-praised statement on redundancy to the nine reforms of the Liberties Bill. The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Kilmuir, was generous enough to give some acceptable publicity to the Unservile State Paper on *The Aggrieved Citizen*. The policies for education, for industrial matters, for taxation, all massive enough by any standards, are being brought up-to-date. The Lloyd George Yellow Book of 1928, a colossus of a policy, which could have saved hundreds of thousands from the Great Depression of 1929 to 1934, was endorsed, in part, by the other two parties—long after the Great Depression was over.

The Anti-Liberals say that our ideals and ideology are sound, but that we are unpractical. They prefer to retain us as a showpiece of the nation, and, at the same time, to complain that we lack administrative and legislative experience. Maybe we do, but it isn't for want of asking for the chance to serve!

In the United States, Liberalism works. It is seen to work. The Kennedy Administration is Liberal: it is alien to Toryism and Socialism alike. Yet in the United States few associate distinctive Liberal themes with a fully rounded Liberal ideology. Why? Because American politics are tied to the immediate current issues and (even more so) to the personalities of the day. In Britain the public has long respected Liberalism as the guardian of ideals, the protector of liberty, and so forth. Most Englishmen believe Liberal ideas and ideals to be right. Yet, certainly since World War II, they have preferred *not* to transform them into practice and into a pro-

gramme. Indeed, they have preferred their ideals to be remote and unattainable. Are these psychological trends weaker today? I think so. Why? Because the curse of Camelot has cracked the mirror of shadows. The break-through is more than a portent of widespread dissatisfaction. It is a challenge to the notion of the comfortable man that he *would* be a Liberal if he dare.

The Anti-Liberals will doubtless pursue the line that there is no personality more than life-size to be a Messiah. That shows in itself just how obsolete the pre-Orpington political alignment had already become. For the issues are not such as to be conjured up through an ersatz Kremlin personality cult.

Millions of people (including, I believe, a large majority of men and women between, say 16 and 48) seek a framework which will make a coherent entity of the idealism inherent in such movements as those which would outlaw the colour bar, end capital punishment, combat bureaucratic ordinance, and found a United States of Europe or an organic Atlantic Union. Our beatniks are, I submit, idealists. They are given over to boredom with a smug and spiritually stagnant society which decries and denigrates idealism. But they are idealists all the same.

Millions, too, desire an integral framework within which everyone may seek a rôle for himself and for society. Is not this the function of the Liberal Party? Among psychologists and sociologists, the term "individual rôle-finding" is familiar enough. Has it not a political context too? Young people are desperately anxious to do much more than protest, even though Viscount Hailsham and Mr. George Brown combine in condemning this protest trait as Poujadist, apparently on the principle "Give a dog a *French* name and hang him." Youth wants to demonstrate that it is capable of pursuing concrete positive ideals—in action. It will not long be denied. The revolt has begun. It is more than a revolt. It is a revolution. And the goal is, as Mr. Jo Grimond says, a society in which everyone counts—and has his part to play. The first casualty will be the claim of at least one Party Central Office to a divine right to the votes of the people.

HISTORY—

MACCOBY ON RADICALISM*

G P GOOCH

DR MACCOBY'S history of English Radicalism ranks with Professor Cole's history of English Socialism among the most important contributions to historical scholarship during the present century. The volume, which contains over 600 pages, completes the survey which begins with Wilkes and Tom Paine and comes down to our own day. The author is to be warmly congratulated on a work which is unlikely to be superseded, for it is a source-book as well as a narrative. How widely he has cast his net into the waters may be judged by a glance at the useful bibliography. Almost every page is enriched by quotations from speeches in and out of Parliament, the daily and weekly press, and the innumerable brochures and books which reflect the passing scene.

The book, needless to say, bristles with controversy, but Dr Maccoby stands above the battle. He never hesitates to criticise persons and policies or to bestow praise where he thinks fit. Without nailing his colours to any party mast he strikes the reader as preferring the middle of the road. He hates extremes both in word and deed, and has no use for the sensationalism which sometimes mars leftish propaganda. I think we might label him the heir and spokesman of the broad English tradition of ordered liberty, to which all the great parties have contributed.

The sixth and closing volume opens with the Liberal revival which began soon after the South African war, was accelerated by Joseph Chamberlain's unpopular campaign for a return to protection (coupled with Imperial Preference), and culminated in the sweeping Liberal victory in January, 1906. As one of the few survivors of that historic Parliament, I can testify to the atmosphere of exhilaration which pervaded the crowded benches. Most of us, myself included, felt warm affection for Campbell-Bannerman, who had opposed the policy which led to the South African War and had stoutly maintained the generous traditions of Gladstonian Liberalism. "Imperialism?" he exclaimed, "I hate the word and I hate the thing. Our task is to make those who hate us love us." Such was his message to the defeated South African Dutch, and it expressed what we all felt. At home he and we were pledged to secure a better life for the common man, and we were proud to have a share in laying the foundations of the welfare state by meals for necessitous school-children, the Children's Act, old age pensions and national insurance against sickness and unemployment.

At first there was some doubt as to whether the Liberal Imperialists in the party would settle down amicably with the Radicals, called Little Englanders, who formed the great majority on the Government benches. Such fears proved groundless, for Asquith, Haldane and Grey, the three chief standard-bearers of Liberal Imperialism at the turn of the century,

* S Maccoby *English Radicalism the End?* Allen & Unwin 70s

were as keen on social reform as the rest of us. The process of integration was hastened by the threat to free trade which rallied all sections to its defence. No one in any quarter at that time expected a world war, though no one felt happy about the construction of a German high sea fleet. The future looked bright during my busy four years at Westminster. We knew there was plenty more to do in the wide field of social betterment, but there was a vigorous hand at the helm.

"Dear old CB", as we called him, passed away in 1908 and was succeeded by Asquith, the only speaker in my Parliament who never hesitated for a word and always found the right one. A fine classical scholar in his Oxford days and an instant success at the Bar, he had been appointed Home Secretary in Gladstone's last ministry, and his claims to the succession after two years as Chancellor of the Exchequer were incontestable. He possessed every qualification for leadership except inspiration. No-one, friend or foe, called him a Radical, and Keynes complained at a later date that he was uncreative.

From 1908, Liberals in and out of the House of Commons looked not to him but to Lloyd George as the life and soul of the party. He had come into national prominence through his spirited opposition to the Boer War. Leaving the Board of Trade for the Exchequer in 1908, he became the most colourful and controversial figure on the stage since Joseph Chamberlain. It is at this point that Dr Maccoby's narrative becomes detailed, and the chapter on his first budget in 1909 recalls the passionate controversies of the time such as had not been witnessed since Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. Lord Rosebery had found the pace of the new Liberalism too hot for him and he now denounced the Land Clause of the budget as the end of all things. His opinion was shared by the vast Conservative majority in the House of Lords, which proceeded to dig its own grave by throwing out "the people's budget".

No one was more delighted than the Chancellor, who accepted the challenge as a welcome opportunity to destroy the absolute veto of the chamber. In the long campaign which followed, Asquith and Lloyd George worked in perfect harmony, and the permanence of their work was tacitly recognised by the Conservatives when they returned to office in the twenties and made no attempt to repeal the Veto Bill. That is happily typical of the English temperament, for the Conservatives have often omitted to repeal Liberal and Radical measures which they had disapproved. That English blood is several degrees cooler than some of our European neighbours is one of the reasons, perhaps the chief reason, why we have made a success of democratic institutions.

Dr Maccoby's task as the chronicler of Radicalism has been facilitated by the comments of the weekly *Nation*, in which Massingham was the oracle of Radicalism among twentieth century journalists. Liberals read the *Westminster Gazette*, in which Alfred Spender paid daily homage to Asquith and his team. Birrell, the wittiest of its members, once remarked that they had not fully realised how wise they were till they read the afternoon leader in what was sometimes called "the sea-green incontemp-

tible" Of the four most influential journalists of the opening decade of the twentieth century—Garvin, Spender, Massingham and Gardiner—the prize for style must, I think, be allocated to the editor of the *Nation*.

What of his judgment of men and events? The reader may judge for himself, since quotations from his organ are provided in almost every chapter and, if added together, would fill scores of pages. He was as emotional as Garvin himself, and that is saying a great deal. He was as ready to burn incense at the shrine of one of his favourites as to consign his enemies to the lowest regions of the inferno. Lloyd George was his hero till the split with Asquith in 1916, after which his affection turned to something like hatred and contempt. To him it meant nothing that men of all parties clamoured for a more dynamic leadership than Asquith could provide.

For Massingham it was simply a sordid drama of ambition and intrigue. His dislike of the new deal was intensified by the resort to conscription, the policy of the knock-out blow, and the excessive severity of the Treaty of Versailles. He had never really had his heart in the war, and several influential members of his staff, among them Hobson and Brailsford, became active members of the Union of Democratic Control founded by Norman Angell, Morel and a few other influential publicists. Looking back over the bitter memories of the two world wars, we find that there was less general support for the Government policy in the first than in the second, when the issue was simplified by the action of a half crazy megalomaniac.

When the war was over most Conservatives had no more use for Lloyd George, and even Bonar Law, who had stood loyally at his side throughout the critical years, felt that the time had come for a change. When the blow fell at the Carlton Club in 1922 no one rejoiced more than Massingham. The spell cast by the Welsh wizard was over. He never returned to office, though he was only in his sixtieth year. Liberals of all shades might have quoted the familiar couplet: "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones." Lloyd George had broken the Liberal Party. The closing decades of his stormy life were an anti-climax. To become a mere spectator of the busy scene was impossible to a man



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of such temperament Churchill, his old comrade-in-arms, made his peace with the Conservatives, but Baldwin, the most active agent of his overthrow in 1922, never dreamed of a *rapprochement*. His best, indeed his only chance, of regaining power, was to co-operate with the growing force of Labour, but neither Ramsay MacDonald, Henderson nor any other Labour captain trusted him sufficiently to invite his support. Nothing could keep him from occupying the first place when he returned to his old party, and many pages in Dr Maccoby's later chapters describe his efforts and expectations. It was all in vain, for after 1922 he was a back number.

The former quasi-dictator ended as a private member. When the short-lived coalition of all three parties was formed in 1931 on the collapse of the second MacDonald Ministry and the cry was "All hands to the wheel," the services of the most celebrated and the most experienced statesman in the country were not invited. Despite the gallant endeavours of Lord Samuel, the fortunes of the Liberal Party continued to decline until about 1957.

The title of Dr Maccoby's sixth volume is *English Radicalism the End?* Since it left the author's hands we are in a better position to answer the question. Recent sensational Liberal successes at by-elections make some Liberals believe that the Liberal revival is unlikely to climb the heights without allies. In the final pages of this striking volume, entitled *Epilogue*, the author quotes Mr. Gaitskell's recent summary of the basic principles of his party, which will please Liberals more than full-blooded Socialists on the benches behind him.

I A broad human movement on behalf of the bottom dog, all oppressed or in need or hardship. At home, its first concern is for the old, the sick, the unemployed, the disabled and the badly housed. Abroad, a deep concern for the well-being of peoples much less prosperous than ourselves.

II It believes in social justice, and in the more equitable distribution of wealth and income. Differences should be related not to the accident of birth or inheritance, but to how much effort, skill and creative energy each contributes to the common good.

III It believes in a classless society, without privilege or restrictive social barriers.

IV It believes in the fundamental equality of races and peoples and in the building of an international order which would enable them to live together in peace. It believes quite simply in the brotherhood of man.

V It has always contained an essential element of personal idealism, the pursuit of material satisfaction without spiritual values is empty.

VI It believes that public interest must come before private interest. It is not opposed to private individuals seeking to do their best to better themselves and their families, but the pursuit of private gain must not take precedence over the public good.

VII It believes that all these objects must be achieved through democratic self-government.

Much of this programme would be acceptable to Progressive Conservatives, who have a good reforming record. Though the result of the next Election in 1963 or 1964 is unpredictable, it will surely prove that British Radicalism has a future as well as a memorable past.

SCULPTURE—

THE TINTED VENUS

THEODORA ROSCOE

WHEN John Gibson, RA, coloured his statue of Venus it caused a sensation, even one might say a furore, in the artistic and social world of the mid-nineteenth century in London. Yet he was only following the practice of earlier sculptors. Do we not hear in *The Winter's Tale* good nurse Paulina, when Perdita wishes to kiss her mother's statue, calling out "O patience! The statue is but newly fix'd, the colours not yet dry." And Paulina stops Leontes from kissing the statue of his wife Hermione with these words.

"The ruddiness upon her lips is wet,
You'll mar it if you kiss it, stain your own
With only painting."

No doubt the dramatist had seen some contemporary coloured sculpture.

When Gibson's "Tinted Venus", as it has come to be known, is exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum* in July, on the centenary of the 1862 Exhibition, it may revive a controversy. Indeed it may even start a fashion for polychromatic art. "I was convinced," wrote Gibson, "that the Greek taste was right in colouring their sculpture. The warm glow is agreeable to the eye, and so is the variety obtained by it. The flesh is one tone, the hair another, the colouring of the eyes gives animation. The moderns are from long and stupid custom reconciled to the white statue. The flesh is white, the hair is white, the eyes are white, and the drapery white." Fragments of fine Greek art, he says, have been found with colouring.

The Greeks were accustomed, moreover, he repeated, to see sculpture in gold and ivory, with the eyes of coloured glass and of precious stones.

The originator of the "Tinted Venus", John Gibson, was born near Conway in 1790, of humble Welsh parentage. Welsh was the language spoken in his home. At the age of seven he tells us in his autobiographical notes that he was attracted to the only form of art available in his home surroundings, namely the Inn signs. Drawing became a passion, his first attempt, a flight of geese, was followed by a man sitting a horse, which received encouragement from his mother. With no other wish than to pursue his love of art, after many vicissitudes he entered the works of a Mr Francis, who had marble works near Liverpool. Here he ultimately found happiness in modelling, drawing and executing works in marble.

One day a visitor called at Mr Francis' studio, who changed the whole course of Gibson's life. To use his own words "After some months there came a tall, magnificent-looking old gentleman to the workshop, his hair white as snow, aquiline nose, thick brows. It was William Roscoe." The object of his visit was to order a mantelpiece for his library at Allerton. Gibson's model and drawings for this were placed before Roscoe, who from that time showed the youth every kindness and encouragement. Inviting him to his home at Allerton the veteran connoisseur and art collector gave Gibson the use of all his portfolios, which held engravings

* The statue will be on exhibition from July 20 to September 30 in the 1962 Centenary Exhibition.

from the old masters, and some original drawings. Grateful for his help and encouragement, Gibson henceforth showed every design to his patron. "It was," says Gibson, "having access to Mr Roscoe's fine collection that I became well acquainted with the inventions of Michael Angelo and Raphael, and the genius of the former began to have an influence over me." That influence did not last for it was the example of Greek art which he made his pattern. Flaxman's illustrations to Homer were shown to him as the purity of form to attain.

From studying, even copying the works of art in Roscoe's collection Gibson was fired to model a large cartoon which ultimately found its place in the Liverpool Institution. When the actor John Kemble came to Liverpool, Gibson was asked to model a bust of him, which was approved by Sir Thomas Lawrence and by Mrs Siddons, who came to see it. Gradually Gibson's reputation was growing.

But it was Roscoe who fired the young sculptor to study in Rome and consulted with his friends how to send him there, "as he looked upon the Eternal City," says Gibson, "as the great University of Sculptures." The suggestion once made, Gibson never rested until this dream was fulfilled. Visiting London for a second time with letters of introduction to Fuseli, Flaxman and Benjamin West, he found all whom he met, save Chantry, full of encouragement in the Rome scheme. It was during this visit that he also met Blake, who showed him his cartoons, and complained sadly of the want of feeling in England of high art, said Gibson.

In September, 1817, the young Welshman left England with a letter in his pocket for Bartolozzi, then living in Paris. Through the kindness of this artist Gibson was given a place in a Roman vetturino which was about to return to the Capitol.

Arriving in Rome with an introduction to Canova, he went with some anxiety to meet the great man in his studio. Not only did Canova greet the young Welshman with kindness, but said "I am rich. I am anxious to be of use to you, and to forward you in your art as long as you stay in Rome." Plucking up courage, Gibson asked if he might venture to go to him for instruction. "He replied in the most encouraging terms," writes the young man, "and told me to look to him for everything that might be in his power." This good and great Venetian sculptor kept to his word. Through him Gibson became acquainted with Thorwaldsen, and to these two sculptors he owed not only kindness but encouragement, so combined with his own enthusiasm and deep love of his art, Gibson made astonishing progress.

Writing of that happy time, although still very young, he says "Every morning I rose with the sun and as I walked to my breakfast at the Café Greco and watched with new pleasure the tops of the churches and palaces gilt by the morning sun, I was inspired with a sense of daily renovated youth, and fresh enthusiasm, and returned joyfully to the combat, to the invigorating strife with the difficulties of art."

Gibson acquired a studio of his own, and with recommendation from Canova there came many visitors, mostly, it seems, English men and women of title, who were on visits to the Capitol. Ten years after his

arrival in Rome he was elected a member of the Pontifical Academy at Bologna, an honour which showed that his reputation as a sculptor was high, so high indeed that his friends urged him to return to London, where Flaxman had just died, and Chantry had retired after making a fortune. But as Gibson said "In England my time would be spent in making busts of great men in coats and neckties." When it was pointed out to him that in England he would grow rich, his reply was "I have no use for wealth, for my wants are very few, and the greatest happiness is the study of art." These words were indeed true. Gibson all his life retained a simplicity of outlook, and like his great master Canova, he possessed a gentleness of character and an unworldliness that were the worry of his friends.

Among the visitors to his studio there came in 1838 a young Englishman and his wife, by the name of Sandbach. Mrs Sandbach was the granddaughter of William Roscoe, Gibson's first patron. She was a poet of some distinction and a lover of every form of art. The sculptor found in her the stimulus which in a major way Michelangelo had found in Vittoria Colonna. Henceforth all his ideas and compositions he lay before her. At her husband's wish Gibson carved for her one of his finest statues, that of Aurora, "goddess of the morning, mother of the stars and of the winds." After a friendship lasting 14 years Margaret Sandbach died, and although there were other women who influenced and helped him, there was none with a greater sympathy and understanding. Their friendship might be likened to his conception of Greek art—"the highest sublimity and beauty—beauty unfading."

During a visit to England in 1844 Gibson was commanded to make a statue of the Queen. His simplicity of manner and character evidently greatly pleased both her and the Prince Consort, so that Gibson wrote "I have not only been at perfect ease but happy in their presence." The Queen, he said, sat with ungrudging patience during his visits to Windsor. To his relief Her Majesty desired that the statue should be dressed classically. "There are none of those usual symbols of a Queen—such as the crown, the royal robes, the ball and sceptre. I have tried to give royalty in the look and action," he wrote to Sir Charles Eastlake. It was this statue on which Gibson first introduced colour. Writing to Mrs Sandbach, he says "I must tell you the English are startled at my having painted Her Majesty. They do not know what to make of it."

The statue was finished in Rome and was sent to the Academy. Summoned to Buckingham Palace, the Prince Consort, giving Gibson his hand, said "Well, I wished to tell you the Queen and myself have been to the exhibition of the Royal Academy and seen the statue, and I am happy to say the Queen is very much pleased with it and so am I," he added, laughing, "colour and all." When the Prince commented on the violent attack aimed at the colouring by one morning paper, Gibson replied "I assured his Royal Highness that if I lived they would have a stronger dose of polychrome."

Six years later Gibson was authorised to complete a statue of the Queen for the Houses of Parliament. This was a large work, and to fill the recess

in the Prince's Chamber where it was to stand, the sculptor designed the figure of Justice and of Clemency standing on either side. Of this group he writes "I have aimed at the highest style of monumental art—severe simplicity, rich and broad drapery, and a correctness of outline throughout the whole."

It was at the suggestion of a Mr Næld that Gibson first undertook a statue of Venus, but before this statue left his studio there came to Rome a Mr Preston of Liverpool with his young wife, who, on visiting Gibson's studio, saw his Venus, and desired to have a repetition of the Goddess of Love and Beauty. "This repetition," says the sculptor, "I kept in hand for five years, working on the marble whenever I felt disposed." Then when the replica for Mrs Preston was finished he tinted the flesh like warm ivory, the eyes blue, and the net which contained the hair, golden. Her armlet, too, he made golden, like the apple she is holding, on which is a Greek inscription "To the most beautiful." Gibson tells how, when the work was completed, he would sit down before it meditating upon it. She became to him an ethereal being with her blue eyes fixed upon him. How, did he ask, was I ever to part from her?

Meanwhile, Mrs Preston's patience, as she waited for the statue, was beginning to give out. When she wrote asking Gibson if he did not think he was treating her badly, he agreed, but the truth was, he replied, he could not screw up courage to send away his goddess, "for it is almost as difficult to part with her as it is for Mr Preston to part with you." Instead of sending the statue, the good lady received some verses upon it written by a clergyman, "hoping," said Gibson, "they would keep her quiet for some time." But this did not have the desired effect, and after five years in his studio he was forced to part from his Venus. Although two replicas of the statue were made, the "Tinted Venus", which is to be on exhibition this year, is no doubt the one before which the sculptor sat fascinated by his own work. She may be faded now, but some may still see in her Gibson's ideal.

Four years after the statue was exhibited, Gibson died in Rome and lies in the English cemetery there. From his humble origin he lived to become a member of the Royal Academy of Arts of London, the Academies of St Petersburg, Berlin, Munich and of St Luke's, Rome, as well as a Chevalier of Honour of France. After a few bequests he left his entire fortune to the Royal Academy of Arts in London and also his finished and unfinished works in his studio, together with plaster casts, feeling "that the collection of my models seen together," he wrote to Sir Charles Eastlake, "would be of use to the young sculptors as to style."

Part of the Diploma Gallery was defrayed from Gibson's bequest. As it is impossible now to exhibit all his works, some of his finest are arranged on the staircase leading to the Diploma Gallery, comprising seven statues, five reliefs and two busts. The Tate Gallery owns others of his works and the statue of Sir Robert Peel, wearing Athenian robes, is in Westminster Abbey. But perhaps Gibson's name lives for art critics today as the sculptor who had the courage to colour his works.

LITERATURE—

SIEGFRIED SASSOON—POET OF WAR

HOWARD SERGEANT

THE war of 1914-18 was the first in human history to be fought on such a vast scale and to make excessive demands upon so many people. Unlike their successors of the late 'thirties, the poets of the time were totally unprepared for the conditions of the trench warfare that dragged on for four years, taking a heavy toll of lives. Death they envisaged, though in a vague heroic light, but not the squalor and the degradation, the mental as well as the physical suffering, the feeling of being isolated in body and spirit from their people at home and of being merely an infinitesimal part of a colossal mechanism of destruction, nor even, at quite another level, the intervals of insidious monotony.

This is hardly surprising, for war had always previously been portrayed in its noblest aspects and most romantic colours; and because only a small proportion of the general public had been directly affected by it, the grim realities had been successfully, if not deliberately, concealed from those not actually engaged in the fighting. Many of the public schools maintained units of the Officers' Training Corps, but their main object appears to have been that of introducing military discipline of an old-fashioned kind as a formal part of an education for "the ruling class", rather than that of preparing young men for the conditions of the battlefield. Mr Robert Nichols, who was at school just before the outbreak of the war, says of the OTC. "I gather that the murderous side of war was distinctly soft-pedalled and that in so far as killing cropped up at all, it was allowed to seem a sort of superior deerstalking which, since both sides were at it, must be rather fun." By most of the British poets, therefore, the news of the declaration of war was received with idealistic fervour, a fervour which was partly the outcome of the restless spirit of the time.

To a large extent the outbreak of hostilities served to canalize the emotions and mental energies which were being spent on a diversity of ideas. The younger generation saw the war as a portent signifying the end of an era, and their own participation in it as something in the nature of a crusade against the evils and anomalies of modern civilization. Soon the fighting would be over and a new beginning, in which the world would be set right again, could be attempted. That it involved danger and possibly death only made the prospect more exciting. Idealism could thus be combined with intense patriotism. The young poets, like the rest of their generation, were swept along on a crest of emotion and in that mood rushed to offer their services in the "war to end war".

After the first few weeks of fighting a veritable flood of war poetry and verse was produced by established and unestablished poets, soldiers and civilians alike. Julian Grenfell's *Into Battle*, Masfield's *August, 1914*, Binyon's *For the Fallen*, Noel Hodgson's *Before Action*, Baring's *In Memoriam, A. H.* and Rupert Brooke's sonnets all sincerely reflect the feeling of the period.

After several months, however, there was a distinct change of tone in

the work of most of the poets on active service, and with it a truer presentation of war itself, based, of course, on personal experience. The emphasis was switched from the heroic sacrifice of the combatants to the conditions under which they were compelled to perform the duties assigned to them. Even where the original note of dedication to a noble cause was still evident, it was far more restrained than before and frequently identified with a spirit of comradeship. In place of the vague abstractions and lofty sentiments which characterised the opening phase of hostilities, we find realistic accounts of particular engagements, of the daily routine at the Front, and of the life shared by the soldiers in and behind the Lines, in place of public laments "for the fallen" in general, poems prompted by the deaths of intimate comrades.

A second and more significant change in the attitude of the combatants was noticeable after the disastrous Battle of the Somme in the summer of 1916. For some months previous to that engagement the men in the trenches had been growing more and more conscious of the difference in outlook between the civilian population at home and themselves. Experience had taught them that war was not the romantic adventure they had conceived it to be, and that neither the physical agony and violent death they had witnessed nor the suffering and hardship they had themselves endured, were to be expunged from their memories by the seemingly complacent iteration of such euphemisms as "reported missing" and "our glorious dead."

The war poems of Siegfried Sassoon clearly illustrate this changed attitude. Brought up in an "English country-house" atmosphere, with a background of literature, cricket and hunting, and educated at Marlborough and Cambridge, Sassoon had written his earliest poems under the influence of Sir Edward Marsh and the Georgians. There is no mistaking the gentle landscapes, the rural themes and settings, and the naive display of the "correct" poetic emotions. Like his contemporaries, he had joined the army in a spirit of devotion to duty, and though he had resisted the temptation to indulge in the high-souled extravagancies of Rupert Brooke, whom he greatly admired, he had been as convinced as the rest of his generation of the heroic nature of the task to be performed.

The realities of trench warfare, then, broke upon him as a complete contrast to anything he had known or imagined of the soldier's life, and so outraged his sensibilities that he could no longer write in his former innocent manner. His deep sympathy for his comrades strengthened his determination to tell the truth about the war, to expose it, with all its inhumanity and intolerable waste of life, for the monstrous evil he had discovered it to be, and, above all, to shock the civilians at home out of their state of complacent ignorance.

"We're none of us the same" the boys reply
 'For George lost both his legs, and Bill's stone blind,
 Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die,
 And Bert's gone syphilitic you'll not find
 A chap who's served that hasn't found *some* change '
 And the Bishop said 'The ways of God are strange!'"
(They)

Nor were the "brass-hats", the Military Authorities or the Government immune from his satirical thrusts—

"If I were fierce and bald and short of breath,
I'd live with scarlet Majors at the Base,
And speed glum heroes up the line to death
You'd see me with my puffy petulant face ."

(Base Details)

—for, as time went on and the prospect of peace seemed to recede even further into the distance, he became obsessed with the belief that the lives of the soldiers were being squandered in a war "deliberately prolonged by those who had the power to end it"—

"Goodbye, old lad! Remember me to God,
And tell Him that our Politicians swear
They won't give in till Prussian rule's been trod
Under the Heel of England Are you there?
Yes . . . and the war won't end for at least two years,
But we've got stacks of men I'm blind with tears,
Staring into the dark Cheero!
I wish they'd killed you in a decent show "

(To Any Dead Officer)

It should be mentioned that Sassoon was awarded the MC for gallant conduct

To achieve his object he made use of a colloquial style owing much to the experiments of John Masefield, and was at first inclined to allow his anger to rise unchecked so that his verse became the vehicle for emotional outbursts. After he had recovered from the initial shock of his experience of front-line conditions, however, his lyrical impulse began to assert itself in a new way and this, combined with his talent for ironic statement, added an extraordinary power to his work. With his emotions under control he was more able to crystallize his thoughts into pungent phrases—to select his targets with greater discrimination and, hence, to give his satire a keener edge than when he was rebuking unimaginative bishops. The poems which immediately followed, reaching a magnificent climax in *Everyone Sang*, are the finest of his whole poetic career. In them his natural tenderness—

"You are too young to fall asleep for ever,
And when you sleep you remind me of the dead",

his realistic attention to detail—

"He pushed another bag along the top,
Craning his body outward then a flare
Gave one white glimpse of No Man's Land and wire,
And as he dropped his head the instant split
His startled life with lead, and all went out",

and the intensity of his feeling for his comrades of the trenches, as well as his most effective irony, are fittingly conveyed and co-ordinated.

It may well be maintained that the experience of war galvanized him into creating genuine poetry, for afterwards he was never able to recall the spirit which had moved him during the turbulent years of warfare. Nor could he go back to his earlier pastoralism, the world had irrevocably changed and he had changed with it. "Not much remains, twelve winters

later," he confessed in *War Experience*, "of the hater/of purgatorial pains" It was as if he had completely exhausted the capacity for strong feeling (at least, so far as his poetry was concerned) and, seeing little cause for hope in the contemporary scene, was growing more and more dependent upon his memories and those dreams of youth that "haunt the quiet house through idle afternoon", turning to history for solace and searching among the "barrows of the century-darkened dead" Again and again in the lyrical poems of *The Heart's Journey* (1928) and *Vigils* (1935) we find him listening for "vanished voices" and "echoes of antiphons chanted remotely", watching for shapes that pass like "wind-blown shadows"

"Praying I know not to whom in this musicless room
 • Where my soul like the flame of a candle in ecstasy stood,
 I gaze at my life in a mirror, desirous of good
 And my solitude girds me with ghosts, with invisible words"
 (From a Fugue by Bach)

The best of his later satirical pieces, such as *Lines Written in Anticipation of a London Paper attaining a Guaranteed Circulation of Ten Million Daily*, are amusing as casual verse, but lack the sting and the urgency of his satire of the First World War By the time that hostilities broke out again with the war of 1939-45 the poet who, in 1917, had protested so bitterly against "the callous complacency with which the majority of those at home regard the continuance of agonies which they do not share, and which they have not sufficient imagination to realise", could speak of war in the following terms

"In every separate soul let courage shine—
 A kneeling angel holding faith's front-line"
 (Secret Service)

The keynote of his *Sequences*, published in 1956, is to be found in a poem appropriately entitled *Ultimate Values*

"The hour grows late, and I outlive my friends
 Remaining, since I must, with memoried mind
 That for consolation deepeningly depends
 On hoarded time, enriched and redesigned
 So is it with us all And thus we find
 Endear'd survivals that our thought defends"

Memories and awareness of the past inform most of the poems in this volume with a philosophical mellowness wrung from experience Now somewhat bewildered by the atomic age in which we live, yet steadfast in his religious faith, Sassoon turns with obvious relief to watch a coal-tit in a tree or to observe how

" in its old unintellectual way
 The first real day of Spring"
 suddenly makes its appearance

"Meanwhile I'm thankful for this almost dusty road,
 Celandine's lovely gold, and daylight lengthening when
 The winterbournes, like time, past February have flowed"

His failure to sustain his poetic intensity and his detachment from the social and political conditions¹ of the twenties and thirties may have been due to the disillusionment of the inter-war period, but they can also be

explained as the incidental developments of the very attitude which informed his poetry of protest. No-one was more deeply moved than Sassoon by awareness of human suffering, but he was concerned with the immediate and obvious effects of the War—widespread suffering, in fact, and the tragedy of wasted life—rather than with the circumstances which had made such a conflict possible. "I'm not protesting against the conduct of the War," he declared in his ultimatum to the Military Authorities, "but against the political errors and insincerities for which the fighting men are being sacrificed."²

¹ I refer strictly to his poetry. After his service in the Army, Sassoon adopted Socialist views and was appointed Literary Editor of the *Herald*. Perhaps his literary activities and his prose served as outlets for his humanitarian feelings.

² *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (Faber).

SOUTHERN ACCENT

O Tennessee, O Tennessee,
 How sweet thy memory to me,
 Brief quiet dusk of June-sweet eves
 With fire-flies' glimmer through the leaves
 And graceful porches columned high
 Against a primrose-paling sky,
 The leaping flame of logs new lit,
 Where kindly mirth and friendship sit,
 And slow, soft, southern voices bind
 Their potent spell on heart and mind.

O Tennessee, O Tennessee,
 How magic-bright thy memory,
 Faint dawn-pink redbud clouds and bright
 Flat discs of dogwood silver-white,
 Dark shining-leaved magnolia trees
 With creamy waxen chalices,
 And sweeter than all flowers that blow
 The loyal, loving hearts I know
 O long ago and far away
 The tenderness of yesterday

AGATHA FRANCES MICKLEM

BOYS IN BOOKS

TREVOR ALLEN

IT is a strange paradox that in the books of the past century—the stolid Victorian days of large “happy” families, as we like to imagine them—boys were usually anything but happy. From David Copperfield and Oliver Twist to tragic Little Willie in *East Lynne* they were essentially figures of pathos over whom we were meant to shed a sympathetic tear and exclaim “Poor little fellow!” Their authors bestowed on them a sentimental compassion, except in school and adventure stories specially written for boys. Only with Richard Jefferies’ *Bevis* did they emerge from the shadows, to become the Pucks and Ariels of field and playground and enlightened homes, the sprites of sun and sea and shore we now know.

What a grim study of a Victorian boy was Ernest Pontifex in Samuel Butler’s *The Way of All Flesh*! His clergyman father “began to whip him two days after he began to teach him.” The great days, he said, were when his father went for a day’s shopping to Gildenham. “As soon as his back was turned the air felt lighter, as soon as the hall door opened to let him in again, the law with its all-reaching ‘touch not, taste not, handle not’ was upon us again.”

The boy, the father complained, shrank out of his way when he saw him coming—“He will not stay five minutes in the same room with me if he can help it”—though the mother constantly urged him to love and respect his father. At 13 Ernest was skinny, pigeon-breasted, timid, with no stamina or liking for games. A pitiable portrait of a cowed, crushed lad, reputedly based on Butler’s own boyhood, which left one wondering was there no fun, no play, none of that wilful stubbornness and defiance that should be part of a boy’s natural armour?

Edmund Gosse’s *Father and Son* portrayed a bleak boyhood in a rigidly Calvinistic home that stirred our pity. The boy had to learn hymns, psalms and chapters of Scripture by heart, but “always failed ignominiously and with tears”, puzzling and vexing an exacting father. He was never told a story or permitted to read one because story-books were taboo in that austere home. He had no young companions or outdoor amusements, and under a repressed life slept badly, screamed in his sleep, and was thought “delicate” like so many unnaturally repressed Victorian children.

Morbidly imaginative, he pored over the gorgeous birds and butterflies in his father’s natural history manuals, convinced that if he could find the proper words and mystic “passes” he could induce them to come to life and fly out of the pages, but to make this magic work he must inflict pain on himself by running pins into his flesh and banging his joints with books. Was ever a boy so haunted by the macabre in contemplating the beautiful?

Not until his seventh year, when he stayed with a relative at Clifton after his mother’s death, did he know the society of other children during a “brief interval of happy, healthy child-life, when my hard-driven soul was allowed to have, for a little while, no history.” And no natural history, one might add, marvelling that his father’s nature studies did not induce a gentler attitude to his son’s upbringing.

Only in his ninth year, when his father moved to a cold, barely-furnished house near Oddicombe on the South Devon coast did he begin to make friends and discover the delights of books like *Tom Cringle's Log* and *Pickwick*. His crowning dedication to godliness—baptism in the pool of the local chapel before a gathering of brethren—only served to widen the gulf between son and father and foster a rebelliousness against fanatical bigotry that caused the final rupture.

The story, sensitively written, had its moments of tender affection and reconciliation, but in the main was a chronicle of a harsh boyhood unmitigated by the father's good intentions, sincere and earnest according to his religious lights.

It was left to Richard Jefferies to give us, in *Bevis*, the story of a boy's playtime and nothing more—an enchanting idyll doubtless inspired by his own Wiltshire boyhood at Choate. When Bevis built and launched his raft on the stream near his home he embarked on an Odyssey and had of imaginative childhood. The voyage became an exploration through dark continents, a campaign against savages, tigers, alligators and all the perils of tropical swamp and jungle. The small lake he and his playmates discovered was a vast sea with a strange island. Bevis saw himself as Alexander the Great, as Caesar in a Roman War fought out in the fields and woods. As captain of the raft he lorded it over Mark (Antony), Ted (Pompey) and the rest, leading them on a great adventure.

He is among the few wholly natural boys in literature, for in presenting him Jefferies contrived to eliminate the man from the boy, or at least to reincarnate the boy in the man, which it is never easy for the adult to do. We have all played at make-believe like Bevis, in city street if not countryside, and know him to be authentic. Had he sorrows, frustrations, like so many Victorian boys in books? Jefferies' only concern was to show him happy in his play. With *Bevis* the boy has emerged from the shadows to enjoy his rightful place in the sun.

Of the sun, too, is Frank Kendon's memoir of a Kent Weald boyhood, *The Small Years*, which recaptures the small incidents that were by no means trivial or trifling at the time. Lovingly he recalls the scenes of his early wanderings, but what mattered most to his young, inquisitive mind was that by the hollow near his home he "threw an empty tin at an empty tin", broke a low ash bough by hanging on it, and "chased a cockerel a little, but let him go away because of the heat."

He remembers how his fingers *would* turn the brass nob at the foot of his mother's bedstead, making the framework loose and rattling. Very real to him were the handles of the hipbath, which he thought were ledges for flannel and soap, the warm towel with its *toasting* smell on bath night, the stodgy sweet porridge which he always disliked *unless it was burnt*, when it had a redeeming flavour, the polished apple his granny would take out of the pocket of her black dress when she put him to bed, placing it on the mantelshelf for the morning so that he could anticipate pleasurably the morrow. Do not such *trivia* make up the boy's engrossing world? How, without them, can we faithfully re-create it? The *Small Years* are an amalgam of small things.

That applies also, I think, to Henry Williamson's *The Beautiful Years*, a romance of a country boyhood in which Willie Maddison, after his mother's death, is left almost gipsy-free to explore the beauties and wild life of woods and fields and make friends with neighbours' children and local characters. Willie has much of young Kendon's absorption in small things, he shares Bevis's delight in make-believe, though he is not as wildly imaginative, he even has a touch of Victorian pathos, as when he is soundly thrashed and sent to his room, but he has, too, the eternal boy's humours—mostly unconscious—which endeared us to Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn.

Before going to a friend's party he "cleaned his teeth three times, consecutively, using common soap upon Biddy's recommendation, and nearly precipitating himself into a bilious attack as a result." When the party ended he "bowed to Mrs Norman, the grace of his courtly action being somewhat marred by the bursting of his collar holes, and the collar flying wide like a book that is suddenly opened." When neighbour Elsie, for whom he was beginning to feel a shy calf-love, wrote to him: "Father says your knees are pretty bony like crows," it caused him acute depression, for his thinness "gave him much misery, especially as the dumb-bell exercises and back bending, practised assiduously for over a fortnight last year, had produced no noticeable effect." At the school footer match he "thought that he was playing a fine game. He had given three boys a frightful charge, and sent Effish into the mud. He was glad that father had seen him do it."

Such incidents are amusing in retrospect to the man writing of the boy. To the boy himself they were deadly serious, for boys may laugh at the discomfort and mock-heroics of others, never at their own. Self-humour emerges as a later—and even then a rather rare—adult development. Isn't Richmal Crompton's *William* most of all a figure of fun when he is most serious and well-intentioned?

"Men," wrote Dr Arnold of Rugby from a knowledge both of men and boys, "forget what they were in their youth, or, at best, only partially remember it: it is hard even for those whose memories are strangest and liveliest to put themselves exactly into the same position in which they stood as boys. they can scarcely fancy that there was once a time when they cared so much for pleasures and troubles which now seem so trifling."

We should feel grateful to those who focus on rafts, empty tins, bedstead nobbs and torn collars rather than the rags and tatters of pity and father-son complexes and conflicts. They reflect the modern attitude to boys as sprites of sun and fun, and make us proud of the healthy freedom juniors have acquired in our time. The mischievous "young monkey" in the modern boy once prompted actor John Barrymore to say: "With a daughter I can be just a pal, but with a son I'd be wondering what gaol he was in all the time." Another American—a family man in a recent US novel—said of his brood: "We've had bad luck with our kids, *they've all grown up*."

What tolerant humour and friendly affection towards the younger generation inspired these utterances! How far we have travelled from the

dark days of Dickens, Mrs. Henry Wood, Butler's Ernest, and the pitiable young Edmund Gosse!

It may be true that too much freedom and licence in certain environments produces unruly delinquents, and that an occasional touch of Victorian discipline might be salutary, in school as well as home. But who, confronted with these acutely contrasting boyhoods, can doubt the wisdom of the modern approach in the general run of families?

Harshness to children was more or less taken for granted in Victorian homes, the parents, it was assumed, knew what they were about, the treatment was doubtless justified. Today it is so relatively rare that it quickly becomes a court case, widely reported in the press and read with horror and disgust. In books about children we now expect not cruelty or callousness but the sensitivity of a Rumer Godden.

AT THE WINDOW

The pure light of the idle summer sky,
 The silken lapping of the empty sea
 Sucked slowly to and fro in amity
 With rock and stone, give their serene reply
 To brief humanity.

Though changing, changeless, their infinity
 Their mere remaining, give beyond the years
 Of human life, this timeless vast of theirs,
 As, listening, watching, from this window high,
 I hear and see

Even the gull's white flash across the glass
 That marks its passage in an arc of light,
 Reflects too, flying, what does not take flight—
 All that of sun and summer does not pass
 And knows not night

The lingering vapour scrawled across the blue—
 Machine-made question written on the air—
 Thickens and fades before I cease to stare,
 Or turning gull its sunward course pursue,
 Or the slow tide one inch of sand lay bare
 To shine as new.

MARY STELLA EDWARDS

TRAVEL—

SAILING INTO SCILLY

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE

A CENTRE for tin, a bushment of briars, a graveyard for ships—These have been some of the descriptions given to the Islands of the Blessed, the lost lands of Lyonesse, and the Fortunate Isles. They are names that bring together Roman and Anglo-Saxon history; Herodotus and Walter Besant, Tudor Cornwall and Christian legend. And sailing into Scilly the traveller can be reminded of them all.

Two hours out from the Lizard, there comes into sight a distant landmass that slowly separates into three sounds—Crow, Smith and Saint Mary's, then closer inshore, comes the problem of distinguishing Saint Mary's from Saint Martin's, Saint Agnes from Samson, Bryher from Tresco. Sailing into Scilly on a fine day can make every man feel a captain or a poet, but on stormy days the poetry is best found on Shipman Head looking out across Hell Bay, or in the shanties sung at the *Mermaid*! Here, on rough nights, Spanish crews drink Guinness, their crabbers having sought the protection of Saint Mary's harbour. The tavern walls are hung with prints and pictures of wrecks—the *Schiller* that was lost with over three hundred aboard on the Retarrier ledges, and the *Lady Diana* that was found capsized off Tobaccoman's Point with a tame canary still singing. Both occurred within living memory.

The wealth that the early Scillonians acquired was the wealth of salvage—tobacco off Tobaccoman's Point, or Bohemian glass beads from the shores of Beady Pool on Saint Agnes. The stories of sixteenth century captains lured to their doom by false lights set on the rocks of Scilly are completely imaginary, and the prayer of a local parson, John Troutbeck, at the end of the eighteenth century establishes the right balance between fancy and fact. "We pray thee Lord not that wrecks should happen, but that if wrecks should happen, thou wilt guide them into the Scilly Isles for the benefit of the people." Nor were the wrecks that made the islands "Fortunate" by being graveyards the "blessing" that some Cornish historians have supposed. The inverted commas which surround "Fortunate" carry with them a certain irony, and the word bears no relation to that older title for Scilly—namely, "The Islands of the Blessed."

There are no signs of derelict tin-mines on Scilly, although there seems every likelihood that tin mined in Cornwall was once marketed there. This was because the ancient Britons wanted to keep the whereabouts of their mines secret. Over five centuries divide the two Greek authors Herodotus and Strabo, but both speak, in different terms, of Scilly as a place of barter for tin, and Severus Sulpitrus, a contemporary of Herodotus who lived in Rome, refers to the islands in the singular as being Sylinancim, suggesting that they were one landmass, whereas Strabo in the First Century AD says that there were ten islands "north of Artrabi (i.e. Finistère)." He continues "their people wore black garments to the ankles, and were girt about their breasts: they had staves in their hands, and lived by cattle". Between these two accounts, classical and Christian, comes the Saxon legend (echoed in Breton legend) of how Christ between the ages of twelve and thirty was brought to France and England by Joseph of Arimathea, the rich tin-merchant of the Gospels. Like Glastonbury and Saint Michael's Mount, Scilly too has a claim to be considered part of the "Holy Land of Britain."

"Blessed" and "Fortunate"—these are two aspects of the Scillonian story, they are two moods, as it were, between days when port can be made within three hours of England, and days when fog cuts off the mainland or the sea whips up into forty-foot breakers. Holy day and holiday—both are governed by the Atlantic.

"Mass will be at 10 on Sundays—Weather Permitting," reads one version of the notice pinned outside the Catholic Chapel in Hugh Town, the capital of Saint Mary's. Or there are the days, in any season, when the five-shilling boat-trips between the islands have to be cancelled. One guide-book on sale in Hugh Town makes the claim for Scilly that there are only two seasons—spring and summer. Certainly the parish magazines refer to Christmas outings spent on the beaches, and snow is unknown. But, to the traveller, the claim needs qualification.

Scilly is sub-tropical. In Tresco Abbey Gardens there flourish many plants which cannot survive the ordinary English climate—pink belladonna lilies, tall blue echiums, and daisy-flowered mesembryanthemums that burst in fierce orange and magenta. Yet the Gardens are primarily rock gardens, protected by Californian pines and vast outcroppings of granite. And there in a word lies the key to the whole landscape, because these isles and rocks, though warmed by the Gulf Stream, are northern and barbarian in colour. At midday the sea has the azure brilliance of the Mediterranean—but not its warmth. This remains Atlantic bathing, and this paradox of contrasts between Atlantic and Mediterranean extends to the whole archipelago.

At midday the scene is flooded with golden light, the two hills of Samson become "a bushment of briars" and bracken, the soft southern slopes of Bryher lie speckled with purple vetch and veronica; and the downs of Saint Agnes with their yellow gorse and buttercups respond to the sun. Yet as suddenly as the sun floods the landscape, so as suddenly the light fades and changes, the long shadows of the afternoon creep over the waves, turning all to a watery grey, the sea becomes a silver lake circled by pale blue hills over which the red eye of Round Island lighthouse and the white eye of Bishop Rock lighthouse shine through the night. Then, with the arrival of the morning, there appear through the early mists other landmarks set by the islanders to give the trained mariner his bearings, but to foreign ships, or travellers sailing into Scilly for the first time, there is always the legendary hope that here, perhaps, stretch out the lost lands of Lyonesse.

A cinema, two banks and an espresso coffee-bar have brought little change to the Scillonian seat of government on Saint Mary's, the capital remains much as Walter Besant pictured it in *Armored of Lyonesse*, a romance of the Isles of Scilly, published towards the end of the last century. Star Castle, built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, still dominates the town, the tradition of seeking its protection prevails, and most of the new building is restricted to the isthmus that shelters beneath it. Tregarthen's Hotel, in whose bar-parlour Armored's hero talked with the local inhabitants, continues to ask its patrons to bring their oldest clothes "for messing about in boats and picknicking", and adds the warning. "No one brings evening dress." An ex-boatman is employed as towncrier and his voice can be heard echoing along the narrow streets like his predecessor's. "Now then! Now then!" begins the familiar cry. "Tonight at Eight in the Town Hall there will be Lantern Slides! The Isles in all their Beauty! Wrecks! Rough Seas! Bulbs! Admission two shillings!" In fifty years only the price has changed. And yet how strangely that cry linking wrecks and bulbs is re-echoed in the parish church where a gilded lion from a sunken flagship is now witness to harvest festival held in April as well as September. For in bringing together the world of Sir Cloudeley Shovel with Augustus Smith, it links an eighteenth century Lord of the Admiralty with a nineteenth century Lord of the Isles.

An ancient right of the Chaplain of the Isles maintains that he is entitled to "a fee of ten shillings on the interment of a non-parishioner, but in the event of a body being washed ashore this fee will generally be returned." Sir Cloudeley was washed ashore alive, robbed of his rings, and murdered. It was in keeping with the piracy by which the islanders lived. For at the beginning of the eighteenth century the margin between plunder and salvage was a fine one, and it was Augustus Smith who in the next century changed an impoverished farming community

(spasmodically "fortunate" through wrecks and smuggling) into a prosperous community of market-gardeners. By sending a box of narcissi to Covent Garden he began both the fame of Scilly whites and Scilly's flower trade—the islands' first "industry", now seconded by that of tourism. And between these two so-called industries there is a real bond.

"The months of February, March and April are the best in which to see the harvesting of the Daffodils and Narcissi," advertises Holy Vale Guest House. Saint Mary's is the only island big enough to contain "interior" country, and faded sepia prints show Scillonians with their donkey-carts enjoying a day's picnic in Saint Mary's countryside. Today there are taxis and island bus-tours. Vic's blue and cream coaches run every afternoon—and his tours (especially in bad weather when the launches are tossing badly) are an experience not to be missed. His buses draw up beside a triangular patch of green whose boast is to be the smallest park in the world, and, if Vic himself is to be the guide, then the entertainment includes gossip, history, riddles, jokes, recitations, puns about Scilly asses, songs about Sally the seal, and a great deal of quick-firing repartee. The trip takes just over an hour—although it takes a good two hours to *walk* across the "interior" of Saint Mary's. And to follow the lanes from Rocky Hill to Holy Vale is to trace the contours of a most careful husbandry; not an inch of soil has been left uncultivated and everywhere there are wind-breaker hedges of *escallonia*, *veronica* and *pittosporum* to protect the flower farms; along the high ridges there are walls built of stones loosely balanced on each other, marking boundaries and ancient burial chambers. Horizons lie over the hills—and horizons offer possibilities.

Roman pilots sailing into Scyllanum thought of it as the *ultima thule*, whereas the Saxon tin-traders sailing into Scilly sang of distant homes over the sea and far away, and these islands lying westward of Britain and Gaul answered both their needs, just as the Bishop Rock remains the last Atlantic landmark between the Old World and the New. The population, well under two thousand, is not much bigger than it was three thousand years ago, and faces soon grow familiar. In the history of Scilly, a traveller is far more conscious of the internal struggle of the islands for survival than in their rôle once as a garrison for Cromwell's troops, or as a base for seaplanes during the Fourteen-Eighteen war. Nor do I think that I can better illustrate this family sense of insularity than by recalling an incident concerning Mr J Ward at whose *Cornish Arms* I spent the night last year in Penzance.

Mr Ward is also in charge of the tea and coffee bar aboard the *Scillonian*. His son Peter Ward works aboard the Australian Orient liner *Orsola*. Recently both ships were homeward bound and passed within a mile of each other. There followed an exchange of sirens and flag-dipping in greeting. That is one traveller's tale, and I cannot think of a better way to sum up a community where the Saxon ties between families of Wards, Jenkins and Hickses prevail over all else. Twenty miles out from the mainland, in Scilly the best politics remain local politics—the mood of the sea or the means to prevent eelworms from ravaging the bulbs.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

HITLER'S MOST EVIL HENCHMAN

Heydrich Charles Wighton Odhams 25s

Mr Charles Wighton, who last year published a fascinating book on Eichmann, has now written an even more uncanny book about his superior, Reinhard Heydrich.

Heydrich was brought up on strictly Prussian principles, that *Befehl ist Befehl* mentality with which the Germans have been indoctrinated since the days of Frederick II. It was the historic failure of Ebert and Scheidemann in 1918 "that they permitted the Hohenzollern machine to remain intact just as they found it—generals, judges, high civil servants ready to be taken over by 'Adolf Hitler'" Heydrich joined the German navy after 1918, seduced one ravishing blonde and married another Nordic beauty who, an enthusiastic admirer of Hitler, brought him in contact with Himmler. He made his way upwards by relentless ambition and unscrupulous intrigues, and very soon we find him among the higher hierarchy of the Third Reich, Himmler, who regarded himself as the reincarnation of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Heinrich II, Goebbels, a "diabolical student of the Rhineland jesuits", and Walter Darré, "the blood and soil theorist", interested "in breeding a future race of blond Nordic leaders as world overlords." We also get glimpses of the Nazi generals who excused themselves for their war crimes with the *Befehl of the Fuhrer*, the Ruhr barons and industrialists who gave Hitler their money and financed the SS.

Heydrich organised the shooting of the SA leaders in 1934 and earned the thanks of Hitler who made him the head of the SS. "History," says Mr Wighton, "may prove that he was the most demonic of all" the Nazi leaders. He turned his hatred against Jews, communists, freemasons and the Roman Catholic Church. He opened a brothel for Nazi diplomats and foreign merchants who came to Berlin, and published the periodical, *Das Schwarze Korps*, to outdo Streicher's *Stuerrner*. On November 9, 1938, the German synagogues were burned down on his orders. On January 30, 1939, Hitler said in the Reichstag that if world Jewry should start a war against Germany, the result would not be the Bolshevization of Europe, but the extermination of all European Jews. Heydrich was "the principal executive of the annihilation of millions of Jews." But this he regarded only as the first Final Solution, the other was the extermination of 30,000,000 Slaves whom the Nazis regarded as *Untermenschen*.

Heydrich became von Neurath's successor as Lord Protector of Czechoslovakia. It was already the former who suggested the germanisation of parts of the Czechs and the expulsion of the rest. Heydrich and Karl Hermann Frank wanted to exterminate them all. Heydrich terrorised the Czechs in an unspeakable manner, and was murdered by two Czechs. Hitler praised him as one of the most faithful champions of a Greater Germany, and an orchestra played the Funeral March from *Goetterdaemmerung*. As a reprisal, 100,000 Czechs were arrested, 100 intellectuals shot, and all males of the guiltless village Lidice dragged out of their beds and murdered, while all women were taken to concentration camps where they perished. The children disappeared completely.

Today, "hundreds of the accomplices of Heydrich are still at liberty in Germany—unpunished." An official of the North-Rhine Westphalian government asked Mr Wighton "What about the *Bundeskriminalamt* and the *Sicherheitsgruppe* in Bonn where there are former top-members of the SS who were involved in shooting and other crimes?" Many of the Ruhr barons who had once, with the help of Neurath, exploited the Czech "colony," hold dominant positions in West German commercial life, and legends whitewash the Hitler generals who place the blame

for all war crimes on the SS. The Czechs read with horror Adenauer's and others' statements of "the German aim to liberate the satellites," while Heydrich's widow envies some of the families of former Nazi leaders "who carefully salted away substantial fortunes in Switzerland and Sweden with which they are now enjoying the economic boom of the West German Republic."

J. LESSER

IBSEN AND STRINDBERG

The Drama of Ibsen and Strindberg F. L. Lucas Cassell. 50s

A Guide to English Literature, Vol. 4, From Dryden to Johnson. Edited by Boris Ford. Cassell. 21s

If anything were needed to indicate the range of Mr Lucas's enthusiastic scholarship, the announcement that the present Ibsen-Strindberg volume will be companioned shortly by one on Chekhov, Synge, Yeats and Pirandello should supply it. He is a poet and anthologist as well as literary essayist, and I shall always be grateful to him for his *Greek Drama for Everyman* with its admirable summaries and translations.

After reading his new book I can't help thinking Mr Lucas was ill-advised in linking the Norwegian and Swedish dramatists in one volume. Ibsen so manifestly attracts him while Strindberg constantly excites his wrath and contempt. He tries to be fair with the author of *The Father*—which many playgoers have enjoyed—but the best he can manage after saying it is extremely autobiographical and concentrated on the wickedness of wives, is to describe it as "an unconvincing nightmare of brutality, without any of that saving poetry with which even the cruder kind of Elizabethan dramatists could sometimes gild their puddles." This, with *Miss Julie*, is the most famous of Strindberg's plays, but though Mr Lucas thinks the latter better than *The Father* and a landmark in naturalistic drama, he quotes with relish Bjornson's opinion, "swinish" while admitting that the comment was "perhaps over-simple."

If Mr Lucas gets impatient with the half-mad Swede he achieves a good deal of tolerance with Ibsen. He calls him a "contrary old hedgehog", but his critical inclination is clear from his quotation of Pirandello, "After Shakespeare, without hesitation, I put Ibsen first." And right at the beginning of the book Mr Lucas quotes two other opinions: one by Ibsen of Tolstoy, "Tolstoy, he is mad. When he is not mad, he is great man", and the other by Tolstoy of Ibsen, when he condemned Chekhov's *Seagull* as "nonsense, worthless, written as Ibsen writes. Words piled on words. Heaven knows what for. And all Europe shrieks, 'Marvellous'." It is with such biographical and critical glimpses that Mr Lucas holds the reader's attention while detailing the lives of the two Scandinavian dramatists and discussing their works. "Both men began as unhappy children in uncongenial and inharmonious families, middle-class, but depressed by bankruptcy: both were vigorously stoned by their fellow-countrymen, both spent much of their lives as lonely exiles, wandering about Europe, yet both in the end came back from banishment, to die at home full of years and fame. Finally, both were acute psychologists. And both left a deep mark on the drama of all Europe." Certainly the patient investigatory method used in this book will make it indispensable for all students of Ibsen and Strindberg.

Turning to English Literature, I welcome Vol. 4 of the now-famous Pelican "Guide" in its hard-back edition. The team assembled by Mr. Ford includes Professor A. R. Humphreys (responsible for five important sections), Mr. Norman Callan, Mr. V. de S. Pinto, Mr. P. A. W. Collins and Mr. D. J. Enright, while recourse is had to Mr. T. S. Eliot's essay on 'Poetry in the 18th Century', written in 1930. This contains such gems of perception as "to have the virtues of good prose

is the first and minimum requirement of good poetry", which many readers will take as a prophecy of his own development in *The Cocktail Party* and other plays. I particularly like Professor Humphreys' chapter on Fielding and Smollett, with its neat summary of the impression given by *Tom Jones*, "of tradition still in living contact with social fact, and of comic genius rendering truly what human nature is."

The 500 well-printed pages and the handsome format make Vol 4 of this "Guide" an indispensable guinea's-worth. WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

THE AGE OF ANECDOTAGE

From the Shadow of the Mountain Van Wyck Brooks Dent 35s

The author of this gently garrulous yet shrewdly perceptive book is one of America's foremost literary historians and critics, and this is the third and final volume of an autobiography which constantly reminds me—because of its smooth-flowing style—of George Moore's *Hail and Farewell*. When I met Van Wyck Brooks in John Wilson's bookshop off Cheapside in (I think) 1914, his bent as an essayist was already clear and acclaimed, and the tale of biographical studies since then has included estimates of Emerson, Whitman, Melville, Mark Twain, Henry James, W. D. Howells and Helen Keller. It is no wonder that, now seventy-five, he sails at ease on a sea of memories of the scores of writers whose books and personalities have come his way.

I like his instant flashes of description of Steinbeck with his "large red face with an upturned nose, and, somehow, the air of a German longshoreman", of Frieda Lawrence, "with her big friendly voice and shapeless cotton dress, she looked like the grandmother of all the Valkyries", of Henry Miller, with his "air of an aging Buddhist monk", and Leon Feuchtwanger, living in a walled garden in Los Angeles, "so used to being a best-seller that not to be taken by the Book-of-the-month Club was, he felt, not to be published at all." There is the story, too, of Upton Sinclair's two storehouses of corrugated iron, filled with translations of his books in forty-seven languages. And inmixed with this entertaining anecdotage is so much critical good judgment of writers on both sides of the Atlantic that the book is a 'must' for the cognoscenti. WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

COMPASSION AND RELIGION

The Philosophy of Compassion. Esmé Wynne-Tyson. Vincent Stuart 30s.

Many books have been written on the general theme that organised religion has stifled the religious spirit from which it took its rise, and with the aim of helping us to rediscover the essence of religion. One of the most impressive was Walter Lippmann's *A Preface to Morals* (1929), towards the end of which he advocates the acceptance of a "Religion of the Spirit" which does not depend upon creeds and cosmologies. *The Philosophy of Compassion* belongs to this group but with a marked difference. The author pleads, with considerable eloquence, for a return to a particular kind of religious simplicity—that which combines in itself the veneration of the womanly, compassionate virtues which have been drowned in the clamour and shouts of the masculine interpretation (and distortion) of the original wisdom—message of teachers like Gautama and Jesus. On this point let the author speak for herself: "It is the evolution of religious thought in the West that *The Philosophy of Compassion* is intended to delineate, and this can be traced most clearly through the teachings of the Mystery Religions wherein the spirit of compassionate Love and Wisdom appeared in female form. It is with the original ascendancy, and subsequent repression and subjugation, of woman and the feminine qualities—always so prominent in the characters of the evolved men—that this book is chiefly concerned." (p. 13)

The author's plea that compassion rather than the "will-to-power" of men needs to be given a larger place in our attitudes and thinking is clearly important and on this score her book will commend itself to the reader. Unfortunately, however, much of the force of the argument with which she seeks to re-inforce this plea is lost because of her indulgence in sweeping and inaccurate criticisms of organised Christianity and of the theologians in particular. One or two examples from among a larger number must suffice. St. Paul was not the arch-distorter of an "original Creed of Christ" (the phrase itself is odd indeed) that the author makes him out to be. This theory is at least fifty years out of date and the author's use of it merely reflects, I am afraid, her failure to keep abreast of more recent scholarship. Statements such as that the early Christians accorded to the Old Testament the same authority as the New (pp 4-5), or that the theologians deified Jesus Christ (p 148) are incorrect on purely historical grounds. She thinks that it is quite obvious that the much debated fourth Eclogue of Virgil referred to Apollonius of Tyana (p 94). Most classical scholars would entirely disagree with her. It is a pity that a book with something worthwhile to say of a practical kind should be marred by so many polemical statements which are so often made on the foundation of incorrect historical assessments.

F. H. HILLIARD

A PROVOCATIVE STUDY

The Origins of Science—An Inquiry into the Foundation of Western Thought.
Ernest H. Hutten. Allen and Unwin. 28s.

According to the preface, this book is an attempt to explain the nature of science from its historical and psychological origins. Dr. Hutten begins by admitting that the understanding of science has traditionally been regarded as a philosophical task and so devotes the first part of his volume to saying why it is that philosophy is unable to do the job and how it is that depth psychology can provide us with what is wanted. There follows an outline of the Greek origins of three scientific concepts—atomism, causality and number—and a psycho-analytical interpretation of their historical developments. The story is repeatedly that of man's overcoming his infantile anxieties about reality through the growth of rational thought and this leads to a characterization of that thought in terms of formal logic, truth and scientific method.

The criticisms that are levelled against certain forms of traditional philosophy have indeed considerable force in them and there can be no doubt that a loss of contact with the sciences has been disastrous for philosophy in many ways. What is not at all certain, however, is that a psychological explanation of the growth of some area of human knowledge, say science, can in any way do service for a philosophical account of its nature. The scientific analysis of the meaning of concepts is closely related to the philosophical analysis of them, but the two are concerned with different issues and if we are not to fall into the sin of psychologism, against which Dr. Hutten himself warns us, we must have a clearer mapping of their relationship than is given here. If it is being suggested that via an analysis of the history of science we can discover in psychological criteria the nature of scientific concepts, we must be careful to note the radical limitations of such criteria which of themselves will leave much of the nature of the concepts unexplored.

In fact much of this work is squarely based on the *philosophical* analysis of scientific concepts. It is difficult to see in this work psycho-analytic explanation providing an account of science where philosophy has failed. Rather it would seem that Dr. Hutten has first done a considerable amount of philosophical analysis on the nature of science and then gone in search of a further form of understanding of the history of these concepts using psycho-analytical tools. If this is so, it would

account for the fact that the last section of the book seems to owe little or nothing to the earlier psychological discussions

If one can forget this 'philosophy v psychology' issue, Dr. Hutten gives us a provocative contribution to a field of psychological study where there is little previous work, some shrewd comments on our philosophical ills and a clear non-technical exposition of the nature of logic, truth and scientific method as understood by the followers of Tarski and Popper. For all this we must be very grateful.

PAUL H. HIRST

DYLAN UNDER FIRE

Llareggub Revisited: Dylan Thomas and the state of modern poetry David Holbrook
Bowes & Bowes 21s

Mr. Holbrook, a scholar, educationist, and a very good poet, here draws on his teaching experience for tests of Dylan Thomas's contribution to the poetry of our time. By this I mean that he is concerned to relate the poet's performance to the ideal of quality in living, and by that test he finds Thomas sadly wanting. He sees this most belauded of modern poets as obsessed with a sense of what he himself called 'the tumultuous world of my own being', or having as his critic says, "an infantile sense of being of cosmic importance, the obverse of humility. Like a child, he retains the child's protective and selfish egotism, and the child's cruel self-protective facetiousness, and its sensational, ungoverned violence at times." Mr. Holbrook cites many examples to sharpen his indictment of the absence of a true criticism of life in Dylan's work, and he quotes one example after another to prove that its boasted 'vitality' is simply one of reproduction, not "rooted in any heartfelt, head-held conviction of positives in living."

Many readers will reject this judgment of Dylan Thomas, but it is to be seen in relation to the general plan of the book which, after expressing dissatisfaction with current poetic trends and practice, goes back to first principles and examples and then dwells on Mr. Eliot's achievement in *Four Quartets* and his later three plays, which "could only have been written by two quite different people, the one erecting a wall against the vital influence of the other." WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

The Derbyshire Miners. J. E. Williams. Allen and Unwin 90s

The Derbyshire Miners' Association, when commissioning Mr. Williams to write its history, requested a broad study incorporating the industrial, social and political developments with which it was concerned. Thus the author has provided in full measure and thereby given the book its strength and weakness.

A prologue outlines the development of the Derbyshire industry to 1800, and an epilogue deals separately with nationalisation and after. The great bulk of the 900 pages is concerned with a careful, highly detailed and illustrated account of the period 1800-1944, covering the position of the industry and the miners, and in particular the growth and activity of trade unionism.

Today the typical Derbyshire mining village, despite its unattractiveness, remains a close-knit community. The bitter struggle it had, to form an effective opposition to the power of the coal owners, well described by Mr. Williams, has left a legacy which still affects the outlook of the present-day collier.

In other ways one finds evidence of a continuity between past and present in the work. The author notes that in the early nineteenth century there was a general feeling that the Derbyshire miner "was not a saving man", that he had to spend his money. Thus when times were good there was a problem of absenteeism, when times were bad it was the "soup kitchen". To some extent this outlook, possibly reflecting the nature of the job, is still apparent.

From their early failures to form effective union, stemming from their economic weakness and the great strength of the employers, to the successful formation of the Derbyshire Miners' Association in 1880 and its fight to uphold and improve the conditions of the collier, the author has presented a microcosm of the industrial struggle between workman and entrepreneur. As such it is a valuable study for both the social and economic historian. It is only detailed local studies of this type which give substance to the sweeping statements which tend to characterise the general histories of industrialisation. As well as being a study in miniature, there is much information upon the growth of the coal industry, its increasing scale of production and technological advance, and not least the strong connection between coal mining and transport developments. The supplanting of canals by railroads and the extension of the railway network had considerable significance for the Derbyshire coalfield. DONALD THOMPSON

THE BACKGROUND TO POLITICS

Party Politics III The Stuff of Politics Sir Ivor Jennings Cambridge University Press 45s

This is the final volume of Sir Ivor Jennings' survey of British political institutions, which started with *Cabinet Government* in 1936 and *Parliament* in 1938. Both these studies have been revised in recent editions. In 1960 Sir Ivor Jennings published the first volume of a trilogy on *Party Politics*, *Appeal to the People*, which dealt with the historical development of the electoral process. In 1961 appeared *The Growth of Parties*, in which he deals with the growth and character of organised political parties from the Civil War to the General Election of 1959.

In this last study he is concerned with *The Stuff of Politics*, which "consists of the ideas and prejudices in the minds of politicians". It comprises an historical analysis and interpretation by our leading constitutional lawyer of the growth and impact of ideas, of political movements, of social, economic, religious and moral pressures, of legal and constitutional processes which provide the background to British politics. It is a brilliant and stimulating synthesis which will attract a far wider readership than the political scientists and constitutional lawyers for whom it is primarily intended. Indeed constitutional law finds only a small place in these pages.

The study "does not seek to prove anything", and Sir Ivor Jennings recognises that this is a field where personal prejudice can greatly influence final conclusions. None the less his synthesis leads to various "suggestions", including and probably most significantly "the remarkable continuity in British politics". He points, for example, to the few divisive issues among the leaders of government. Extreme views and theories have always remained on the fringe of practical politics. "For most of the history of British politics the fundamental agreement on broad issues has been due to the homogeneity of the governing class. When working class votes did begin seriously to affect political opinion — which was not until 1906 — the increasing homogeneity of the British peoples (omitting the Irish) enabled the broad agreement to continue." In the result the electoral struggles between the major political parties have been based upon differences of degree and emphasis rather than of basic principle. Giving the welfare state as an example, Sir Ivor Jennings declares that after 1918 its achievement "was due to the conflict for votes between the Conservative Party and the Labour Party". This is rather difficult to accept. While the Labour Party has fought for state welfare, the Tory Party has usually striven to brake rather than promote the welfare state. On the other hand, as the author says, the Labour Party is no longer a doctrinaire socialist party. None the less principle still plays a much bigger part in the formulation of party policy among parties of the left than perhaps Sir Ivor Jennings accepts. The right remains under contemporary conditions inevitably empirical.

The nascent Liberal revival is too recent for comment in this volume.

ARNOLD DE MONTMORENCY

The West Kennet Long Barrow

Excavations in 1955-56

by STUART PIGGOTT

Describes the excavation of one of the largest and most famous of the Stone Age monuments in Britain. Situated about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Avebury, the tomb contained the remains of about 46 men, women and children, together with fragments of pottery, flint instruments, and bone tools dating from the early Neolithic to the Beaker period. This report will appeal to anyone interested in the Stone Age cultures of the British Isles and Western Europe. Fully illustrated and indexed. 60s (post 2s 3d).

Food

Volume III. Studies in Administration and Control

by R J HAMMOND

The final volume of the three part history dealing with wartime food control. It contains detailed studies of five major commodities which, being largely or wholly imported, came under Ministry of Food ownership. Like its predecessors, it is an indispensable work for all students of wartime policy and administration. 70s (post 2s 6d).



From the Government Bookshops in London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol, and Belfast, or through any bookseller

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

SAINTS AND SCHOLARS *Twenty-five Medieval Portraits* (Cambridge University Press 22s 6d, \$3 95) This is a collection of "portraits of medieval monks and others, some of them celebrated, others almost unknown" taken from Professor David Knowles' authoritative works, *The Monastic Order in England* and *The Religious Orders in England*, together with two hitherto unpublished short studies of Bede and Anselm, prepared for broadcasting. The short biographies taken out of the context of the larger works "must not be considered as full-sized accounts or assessments of the men concerned". They include among the better known names Lanfranc, Ailred of Rievaulx, St Bernard and St Francis. Roger Bacon, Matthew Paris, John Wycliff, John Houghton and John Feckenham the last Abbot of Westminster. A wide public without easy access to the main works will greatly

appreciate these brief sketches by a distinguished scholar who combines erudition with an objective though sympathetic judgment and literary charm.

VASA, THE KING'S SHIP. (Cassell. 18s) Commander Bengt Ohrelius has written the fascinating and important story of the Swedish man-of-war *Vasa* which capsized in Stockholm Harbour shortly after the start of her maiden voyage on August 10, 1628 and which now at last has been salvaged. She was 156 feet long, with a beam of 38 feet, and carried 64 guns most of which were salvaged in the seventeenth century. The ship was then largely forgotten until in 1957 she was found lying on a clay bottom, covered with mud and slime in about a hundred feet of water. After describing the disaster and the ineffective Court of Inquiry that followed, the author describes at length

the intricate salvage operations which, after four years, were completed in May 1961. While the superstructure and top deck had been destroyed, the hull timbers were found to be in remarkably good condition, due to the absence of shipworm in the Baltic, the low temperature and turbid character of the water and the preservative effect of the mud. In the result the ship, now safely on dry land, is of great historical value. So are the "enormous variety" of naval, domestic and personal articles recovered and now preserved. Indeed one of the best features of this dramatic volume is the selection of photographs illustrating many of these finds, as well as illustrations of the salvage operations and the recovered vessel itself. Maurice Michael is responsible for the English translation, which reads very well.

ART IN PROGRESS. (Methuen 6s)

This is a new series of booklets on modern art containing "short studies of living painters and sculptors". Each volume is devoted to a single artist and includes his own "statement" of his artistic approach, outlook and method, illustrations of outstanding and typical work, together with an appreciation by a critic. It also contains a bibliography and a list of public galleries where his works can be seen. The first four volumes are devoted to two painters and two sculptors. The former are *Ben Nicholson* with an appreciation by David Baxandall, and *Victor Pasmore* by Jasja Reichardt. The two sculptors are *Kenneth Armitage* by Norbert Lynton and *Lynn Chadwick* by Alan Bowness. These are welcome publications which should encourage a wider appreciation of these eminent if controversial artists.

MICHAEL JOHN DAVIES (Stevens 22s 6d) This is yet another murder case in which grave doubts have been cast upon the jury's verdict. On the night of July 2, 1953 a boy aged 17 was fatally stabbed during the course of running fights between gangs of youths

on Clapham Common, London. There was never any direct evidence of the stabbing, and Davies himself voluntarily went to the police to help them. He was, however, charged with murder, and was twice tried. In the first trial the jury disagreed, and in this volume of the series *Crime Documentaries*, Rupert Furneaux gives a summary of the second trial at the Old Bailey, where Davies was convicted and sentenced to death, and of the subsequent unsuccessful appeals. Fortunately Davies was reprieved, and he was eventually released in October 1960. The author gives some indication of the new evidence which Davies has been collecting and which has greatly impressed Lord Longford and others. Lord Longford is now endeavouring to persuade a reluctant Home Office to re-open once more the whole case. There is certainly a *prima facie* case for doing so. This volume is useful as showing the weight of evidence upon which the second jury acted.

BELLE SAUVAGE LIBRARY (Cassell).

A welcome addition to this series is Geoffrey Brereton's *A Short History of French Literature*, (21s.) which was first published in Penguin Books in 1954. It is a valuable introduction to this vast subject, aiming "at suggesting the individual flavour of at least the greater writers, if necessary even by impressionistic means". Another volume of perennial interest is Voltaire's *Candide, Zadig and Selected Stories* (16s.) translated with an Introduction, *Notes and Glossary* by Donald M. Frame of Columbia University. This selection was first published last year by the New American Library of World Literature. The short stories include *Micromegas*, *The World as It Is*, *Memnon*, *Bababec and the Fakirs*, *Scarmentado's Travels*, *Plato's Dream*, the story of *the Jesuit Berthier*, *Story of a Good Brahman*, *Jeannot and Colin*, *An Indian Adventure*, *The Huron*, *The One-Eyed Porter*, *Memory's Adventure* and *Count Chesterfield's Ears and Chaplain Goudman*.



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WORLD VISTAS—

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

ROBERT SENCOURT

THE Second Vatican Council, which opens on October 11, will be a very different affair from the first Vatican Council which met and closed in such dramatic circumstances 92 years ago

In those years the world has been transformed. It faces issues now of which it then hardly dreamt. The centre of power has shifted from Western Europe, in which the City of Rome is centrally placed, to the two vast rival agglomerations of the USA and the USSR, the latter ruled from Moscow with powers even more absolute than those of the Czarist régime. In this world of perilous tension, however, Rome still occupies a mediate position, mediate not in the world of conflicting ideologies so much as in a geography which places it equidistant from Baghdad, the Orkney Islands and Timbuctoo.

Centre of a vast cosmopolitan Church, the Vatican is perforce aware of what threatens any of its own interests and therefore of what threatens the world as a whole, and its main claim on the general attention of the world is the function it performs as a centre not merely of information, though even there it invites the attention of diplomats and students of foreign affairs, but of those forces of religion, morals, culture, and reflection which are essential to the continuity and the stability of life. Roman Catholicism is the most venerable, the most widespread, the best-organised and the most populous of the forms which Christianity has taken in an existence now approaching two thousand years, for all these reasons it merits, and it very largely obtains, the respectful attention of both the student of men and the man in the street. If, as now, it gathers together its three thousand bishops for mutual counsel and decisions, it does something of a certain import for Christians as a whole and in effect for the world as a whole.

Even what it does as a Church has general implications. That was already the case in 1870 when its decisions were largely connected with its own dogmatic constitution, and when it raised the question which to such a large extent intrigued the general interest, that which is summed up in two words largely misunderstood "Papal Infallibility". The one thing which this first Vatican Council is generally known to have done is to define the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. To tell the truth, that definition carried things no farther. Its importance was that it carried

them *back*, for the Pope's infallibility was restricted to such rare circumstances and occasions that the guarantee amounted to almost nothing. It did not declare that infallibility was the prerogative of the Pope as such but of his *function* on these most unusual occasions. But, even so, not all is said. For the word is a negative word. Far from meaning absolute or exhaustive it merely means that, as far as it goes, a particular statement is immune from error. And, like a bible text, it would need to be balanced with, and completed by a host of others, and read in the light given to certain times and certain mentalities.

It is perfectly certain that the Second Vatican Council is not going one inch further in the direction of the First which met as the culmination of what most took to mean intransigence in an age of liberalism. The reign of Pío Nono both belied and defied the tendencies and the triumphs of the nineteenth century. The Catholic authorities seemed then to think that their Church would be strongest if it stood stockstill—stockstill in an age vaunting its progress.

The years between 1870 and 1962 have shown that the achievements of the nineteenth century were not all advancement: they were like mighty hosts contending. While some secured material advancement, others threatened it with destruction, upheaval, revolution. What is the result? The world is in much closer rapport, and is far more populous, but while its Western countries with their 500 million inhabitants live in an opulence which gives the masses the fulfilment of material wishes and instincts, the other 1,500 millions are shorter of food than they have ever been, the repletion of a quarter confronts the starvation of the rest. Like the anomalies of the reigns of Louis Seize or Nicholas II, this is the sort of thing on which bloodshed and upheavals can only too easily follow.

These are the circumstances in which the Vatican Council has been summoned by an old man of much experience, phenomenal shrewdness and a fatherly heart. One cannot come into the presence of the Papa Giovanni without realising this, and how he has so soon secured the affectionate confidence of two millions of his diocese—and they themselves, if truth were known, are very largely pagan. No one can observe his strongly marked features, listen to his powerful allocutions and sermons, or hear him speak as a man to man on even private occasions without seeing that here is an old man who, in the course of a long experience among men and governments, has seen into the trend of the times as into the characters of those with whom he has to do in a position of nominally absolute authority.

He had hardly been elected Pope than he conceived and announced his idea of having a world council of all his Bishops so that they could renew and adjust the Church to the vastly changed circumstances of the time and to the dangers which threaten not only the Catholic Church but all humanity.

The first Vatican Council, though it offered an invitation to Orthodox Bishops, was very much the affair of a Church which conceived of itself as singular and complete. The Second Council, though confined as a Congress to its own Bishops, conceives of itself as a Christian organism,

INTIMATIONS

Between waste land and disciplined
 Lies a choice region, exquisite
 The music hovering on its wind,
 The colour spare but pure, and lit
 Inside its texture by still wells
 Of fire as vines or birches are
 In charmed late autumn, wandering
 smells
 Pervade it, as of brine and tar
 Cities it has, but clean and white,
 Its people toiling, yet with ease,
 Body and spirit filled with light,
 Move as to stately symphonies
 In dreams I roam their land, a smile,
 A wind's or phrase's turn uncloze
 Its fluid frontiers for a while,
 And I am there And then it goes

GEOFFREY JOHNSON

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not only in vital relation to other Christians, but with responsibilities for the good and safety and welfare of all men

Up to now every one of the twenty General Councils of the Catholic Church has been a gathering of Bishops, and this could hardly be otherwise. Yet it *claims to represent not only laymen but non-Catholics* because it has invited them to put forward their ideas, and these have received the most careful consideration, a consideration which is not to cease when the Council opens. In fact, with the intention the Pope has in view, it could not cease—for his aim is so to reform the Church and adapt it to the changed circumstances of our times as to invite the sympathetic attention of those outside and so pave the way towards concord and even finally towards unity.

Who can deny that such an aim answers to the claims of both common-sense and the needs of our dangerous time? The attitude, into which Christians fell at the time of the great divisions, that each denomination was a mortal enemy, and therefore wholly evil, was always absurd. We need only to consider the moral lives and standards or the achievements of genius and culture in countries called Catholic or Protestant to see how accusations of depravity, or even inferiority, on either side break down before the achievements of acknowledged genius and a thorough knowledge of the masses of the people. Germany was divided on the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio*. It would be perfectly absurd to say that the

dividing lines between Catholic and Protestant thus arbitrarily made corresponded to a real cleavage in standards. Can one say much else in Switzerland as one moves from a Catholic to a Protestant Canton? If we see a difference in Ireland is it not very largely explained by the fact that penal laws, hopelessly unjust, prevented the Catholics, who were the great majority of the population, from having even a secondary education, let alone one that permitted them to enter the learned professions?

As for those who had a liturgy, or depended on the authority of the Bible, it is plain that their standards must have been in close relation to one another. But the twentieth century has to a large extent emptied Christian Churches, and those who do worship have at last learned to realise that other denominations are not enemies but allies, even though they have a different battlecry and march under a different banner.

That is the fact which was emphasised by Cardinal Bea, when, on April 5, he made a great speech to the Foreign Press Association in Rome. He spoke of the need of combining against the manifest perils of the time, of the 900 million nominal Christians, whom he would band together in a union of the baptised for, according to Catholic doctrine, the sacrament of baptism makes those who receive it members of the body of Christ, and, after all, there can be only one body of Christ.

Cardinal Bea, with plenary powers, presides over the Secretariat for unity which the Pope founded to prepare for the Council. No other Cardinal has so caught the eyes of the public in Rome or in Europe generally. At the age of 82, he is full of enterprise and energy, everywhere he spreads the spirit of conciliation and co-operation. In the name of the Pope, he calls all men of goodwill to unite. "The problems which humanity must confront today are indeed so enormous and so urgent that it is really indispensable to mobilise all forces which agree at least on the plane of the religious idea, on the idea of God and the existence of a moral order." Thus spoke he to the Foreign Press Association. "You should try and do all you can to explain this aspect of the Council to the broadest strata of public opinion in the world."

He pointed out how wide are the divergences which in matters of rite and custom the Catholic Church already accepts, even though she could not compromise on the revelation which she believed was entrusted to her by Christ, whose Spirit had illumined believers from age to age.

Once there is unity on essentials, there is scope for wide diversity in matters of custom and modes of worship. There must be an enormous diversity between different mentalities and states of development. It is not always that this aspect of Roman Catholicism has been emphasised. Most people have instead an idea of its rigid uniformity.

The more we hear, however, of the preparations of the Council, the clearer it becomes that it is to inaugurate changes. The preliminary discussions are to be secret so as not to be cumbered with controversy. And all men of goodwill will welcome the appeal which Cardinal Bea has made to them to lend to this wide-reaching project the benevolence which it in turn designs to show not only to all who call and profess themselves Christians, but to all sorts and conditions of men.

EUROPE MEETS AT GENEVA

JAMES AVERY JOYCE

United Nations, Geneva

A TEMPERATE and restraining voice has been raised in the Heart of Europe (as Ruskin called Geneva), which has received but scant publicity in the general press. During the month of May the 17th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) was held here. All the existing 29 nations of Europe, excluding none, were represented.

As a tangible example of the way ECE goes about things, a study on major technical and related economic problems of a unified system of navigable European waterways was adopted by the Commission by 28 votes in favour, *with none against* and only France abstaining.

Here was an agenda—limited to specific items though it was—which really meant “Europe” when it used that much-abused word, and not merely a small fraction of it, here was a responsible organisation which was not trying to pretend that “integration” and “segregation” were interchangeable terms.

The constant misuse of the term “community”, to lend an air of respectability to all these fortuitous hodge-podge groupings, nowadays, is particularly distressing. To give a mongrel an honest name does nothing to legitimise his breed.

“Bridging” the iron curtain (like Europe’s own mountains and waterways, airways and many of its railways), delegates of the Ukraine, the USSR and Poland joined in many days of constructive discussion along with the countries of the “West” on how best to promote ECE’s co-operation with the less-developed countries both inside and outside Europe. For all countries of the Old Continent are united by their common interests—food, jobs, health, scientific advance and standards of life—and ECE is their common denominator.

Present at the session were UN Acting Secretary-General U Thant, as well as the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (Dr B R Sen), the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (Sigvard Eklund) and spokesmen from other “branches” of the UN concerned with the economic and social well-being of and technical assistance to the whole world family of nations.

Yet, so intense has been the concentration of Cold War publicists on the virtues of “The Six” (three big and three quite small countries), that it will come as a complete surprise to most people that for 15 years the United Nations, under several brilliant economists and administrators, like Dr Gunnar Myrdal, has been endeavouring to construct a truly continental programme of economic co-operation and human welfare on all levels, which has peace instead of conflict as its external goal.

ECE (Economic Commission for Europe) and EEC (European Economic Community or “Common Market”) may *look* alike, but in essence they are poles asunder—moving in opposite directions and motivated by contrary philosophies. Their juxtaposition reveals how far we have diverged from

the straight path of genuine European "unity", while playing on the hopes and expectations of many generations. On a full-page chart, for instance, published recently by *The Observer* (London), purporting to explain the nature and relationship of 'European Economic Organisations', there appears no mention whatsoever of this important and highly competent United Nations body which, among much else, produces the annual *Economic Survey of Europe*—one of today's basic source books of economic data and trade statistics for government and business institutions the world over.

Was it not here in Europe that one of the most significant events of modern human history—the Industrial Revolution—began? The profound transformations which spread from it to the rest of the world, have everywhere aroused expectations that all mankind can now share its benefits. Must, then, the two halves of an industrialised Europe fight each other in the market-places of Asia and Africa? U Thant told the Commission frankly "Our Organisation has been enlisted in a conscious effort of the community of nations to accelerate this world-wide diffusion of the knowledge, skills and material resources, so necessary to the betterment of human conditions."

The Economic and Social Council of the UN set up the Commission in 1947 as an experiment. But the sheer necessity of a permanent organisation to promote economic co-operation among *all* European countries was at once recognised and in 1951 the Council decided to continue the ECE indefinitely, alongside the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Latin America, to which the Economic Commission for Africa was added in 1960. The most important tasks given to the Commission were to "initiate and participate in measures for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries both among themselves and with other countries of the world."

It may nowadays be forgotten that, in spite of the problems raised by the manner in which the Marshall Plan was organised as an American-based project, *all* European governments worked well together in building the UN Commission, first to overcome some of the urgent post-war problems in Europe, and then to meet certain basic needs for region-wide co-operation in key sections of their own economies. Moreover, as U Thant remarked last month (though his words seem to have found no echo in the general press) "It is the world-wide international framework of our Organisation that lends the Commission both practical and symbolic significance, it is its integration within the global system that makes it possible for ECE to make its contribution to the Organisation's effort to extend to the less fortunate countries of the world the knowledge and the skills which have flourished, and continue to flourish, so markedly in this continent."

To summarise, it has been due to this Commission that member governments have been working in the following directions:—

- (1) To achieve stabilisation of the market and equilibrium between supply and demand in the case of coal, steel, wood and the main agricultural products,

- (2) to promote exchange and improve the mechanism of payments between East and West Europe,
- (3) to rationalise and co-ordinate national policies through technical agreements in sectors such as industry, transport and building,
- (4) by exchange of information and a considerable volume of research, to foresee the tendencies of the main sectors and thus to make it possible to steer in the right direction,
- (5) to standardise and unify their economic and commercial practices (for example, by working out legal or quasi-legal texts not having the force of law) so as to improve their economic relationships,
- (6) in the larger branches of the European economy—agriculture, coal, electrical and other forms of energy, steel, wood, transport, etc—to exchange all appropriate information, including methods and statistics, as well as reports on experiments, with a view to a rational utilisation of resources and the equalisation of technical development

Because ECE is (as U Thant stressed) “the only regional forum that embraces all countries in Europe”, the Commission must continue to try in its own way “to counteract or mitigate the divisive trends among the European countries”. Thus, by agreeing on *practical measures* of economic and technical co-operation and keeping away from “politics”, he said, ECE governments could make “an indirect, but nevertheless tangible” contribution to “the success of the broader initiatives which are now proceeding in the political field”—meaning the United Nations general effort for world peace. In other words, by countries working together on common problems, as a natural “region” within the UN, instead of as an economic-military alliance outside the UN, not only would the whole of Europe gain in stability and prosperity, but the world organisation would itself be strengthened, instead of being fragmentated by self-centred groups working against other self-centred groups.

As a proof of the workability of this same objective, FAO's Director-General asked assistance for the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign and for the World Food Programme now being carried out jointly by FAO and the UN, and he received favourable assurances from all the participants. Similarly, the IAEA Director-General spelled out the means of future co-operation between his Agency and the 29 European countries, all of whom belonged to it without distinction or discrimination.

Coming to the many pressing problems of automation, common to all their countries, Vladimir M Timofeev, of the USSR, suggested the establishment of a working group on “automation economy” to come back next year with more ideas. To facilitate this task, Robert N Crowell, of the United States, offered the Commission the benefits of his own country's experience in the same field. Similarly, in the course of the discussion on ways of extending ECE's activities, representatives of Austria, Hungary, Norway, United Kingdom, Rumania, Belgium and the USSR backed a proposal for the construction of a Danube-Rhine canal, and also for the interconnection of European electrical networks, which was made by Dr Karel Kurka, of Czechoslovakia.

In giving a first reading to the report of the Consultative Group on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, the Commission undoubtedly opened the door to one of the most pressing issues of the next decade. Here all countries are beggars, desperately needing advice.

and help from each other. How can the *soi-disants*, "disarmers" holding their perpetual meetings just across the street in Geneva, get to grips with the fundamental mechanics of *their* problem, unless they know how they are going to handle it in terms of industry and manpower?

It is by seeking agreement on such measures of economic and technological co-operation as these, that a vital contribution to the success of broader initiatives in the political field can quietly be made, behind the self-righteous backs of the Cold Warriors who get all the limelight. Conversely, a lessening of political tension in Europe would open new vistas for more fruitful activity in the economic and social field.

The Acting Secretary-General summed up the necessity for an entirely new look at the common destiny of the European peoples. "Keeping alive and advancing an all-European co-operation is essential in our struggle for a harmonious world community which—sooner or later—is bound to become a reality."

LOVE IN ANY CITY

It could have been any city—London, Rome,
 Paris, New York, Chicago—any home
 For simmering crowds and parks and monoliths
 Pocked with a hundred peeping squares, where myths
 Proliferate against the darkened sky
 In brilliant beads of light or, in the sly
 And sweetened shadows, posture on a screen,
 A place where the poor and sick are rarely seen
 But covered up like sores, where the air is rich,
 Spiced and spiked to aggravate the itch
 Of need for what one can't or dare not say
 She seemed the City's child in every way
 No wimpled dainty, stroking her sad lyre
 Impatient for her silver-plated squire,
 She could not boast that soft, pre-raphaelite
 Hair that syrups smoothly over white
 Marmoreal shoulders, neither were her eyes
 Those wistful jellies of astounding size
 And yet, though many would not notice it,
 Her gaze reflected sympathy and wit
 In such a way that it could claim a kind
 Of magic that obscurely undermined
 His selfish palisades, and though they used
 A taut elliptic idiom which refused
 A melting welcome to the lyric or
 Enraptured paean by which they set no store,
 When streets were hushed, swept bare by the night's
smooth broom,
 A meadow breeze swayed cool in the grateful room
 In which, like branches on related trees,
 They stirred towards each other, touched and clung,
 Awed by the haunting music that was sung

VERNON SCANNELL

THAILAND IN GEOPOLITICS

JOSEPH S ROUCEK

*Chairman, Prof of the Depts Political Science and Sociology,
University of Bridgeport, Connecticut*

UNTIL May, 1962, to many Americans Thailand had probably been just another country "somewhere" in Asia. Recalling that Thailand's other name is Siam, movie fans remember the motion picture *Anna and the King of Siam*. Theatergoers may have been reminded that the King of Thailand wrote two of the songs in a Broadway musical comedy.

Then, suddenly, the quick dispatch of American troops to Thailand in May, 1962, headlined the news in America and abroad. The American marines were in Thailand not only by Presidential order from Washington but at the invitation of the Government of Premier Sarit Thanarat—the first time in 600 years that the Thais had asked foreigners in to help them defend their soil. US transport planes, flown in from Japan, swiftly airlifted the marines to Udorn in Northeastern Thailand, only forty miles from the Mekong River and Vientiane, capital of Laos.

The American marine detachments, followed a few days later by troops of other SEATO allies, Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines (with only two of the SEATO powers holding back—France, still smarting under the sting of the Indo-China war, and Pakistan, its eye on India), had been rushed to Thailand to help protect the vital left bank of the Mekong River from the Communist menace extending its shadows from the Communist victories in Laos. For Washington is relying on Thailand as its firmest ally in Southeast Asia. Unlike most other countries in this region, Thailand is a going concern under the Premiership of Sarit, with a steadily rising export trade. With more than \$700 million in US aid, the Thai Government has been building bridges, roads and hydro-electric power and promoting education, the 100,000-man Army is well evaluated by US military experts and Thai troops had fought well in the Korean War. Thailand had few Communists around, and most of them have been executed or are in jail.

At the same time, Washington let it be known that US forces will stay in Thailand for a long time, or at least a nucleus of American combat forces, particularly air force units, which should be available on the Asian mainland as long as the Communist threats persist in Vietnam and Laos, and thus affect neighboring Thailand.

Right in the middle of one of the world's most explosive areas, in Southeast Asia, Thailand, with its exotic capital, Bangkok, has one of the most modern airports in the Far East. But the country is shadowed by the vast and ominous mass of Communists directed from Red China and Moscow. Fortunately, Thailand, so far, has not been faced with the destructive work of the guerrillas of the Communists, as the surrounding countries have been. But the Communists have been trying to insinuate a fifth column among the residents of Chinese ancestry, who form almost one-sixth of the total population.

This Buddhist country has been so well-publicized as a "never-never, happy land", with well-fed, pro-American people, that it seems callous to point out that Thailand has its troubles too

Geography has divided the country into four sections

In the west and north, a chain of mountains forms a natural boundary between Thailand and Burma, this area is the source of the nation's timber wealth. The eastern section, bordering on what was formerly French Indo-China, is poverty-ridden, its soil is poor, its climate unfavorable, and its population comparatively small. Central Thailand is the heart of the country, it is the rich, abundantly watered plain of the Chao Phraya, and one of the world's best areas for growing rice. Peninsular Thailand, the tail of the kite, comprises the northern two-thirds of the Malay Peninsula, a mountain chain passes down its entire length. This region is rich in forests, cattle, fisheries, mines and agriculture. It has great natural beauty. Most of the tin and rubber is produced here, and for this reason a comparatively well-developed system of highways and railroads has been built.

There are abundant tropical plants and animals in the great forests, some of which are jungles, where huge trees, bound together with vines, form cover for elephants, tigers and wild cattle. More than a thousand different kinds of Siamese birds have been listed and a great variety of fish abounds in the Gulf and rivers, and even in the rice paddies, where at flood-tide they may do much damage by eating the young rice plants. Vegetation ranges from tropical plants to those of the temperate zone.

The population of Thailand numbers about 25,500,000. Thais make up approximately three-fourths of the total population, and are throughout the country the predominant rural group (except in the far south, where there are approximately 700,000 Malays), other native minorities include various hill tribes, notably Miaos and Karens, in the north and west.

Of much greater importance are the 3 million Chinese, living mostly in the cities, the commercialized rice-growing areas of the central plain, and the tin-mining and rubber-growing districts of the south, many of whom remain loyal to their homeland. In the northeast 50,000 are Vietnamese. About 50,000 are Indian. The Chinese are, in general, the large-scale merchants, controlling commerce and the skilled trade. The Malays are usually fishermen and rubber cutters, the Indians are small merchants and watchmen.

The Thai people are famed for their hospitality, friendliness, good humor, love of pleasure, sports and ceremony. They have many beliefs and practices, including reading the stars, which most of the western world calls superstitions. They ask strangers personal questions about age, health, salary and family, not through curiosity but to show the friendly interest which they think good manners require.

Most of the Thai are Buddhists. The Buddhist temple is the center of the community. Around it revolve not only religious rites, but also picnics, plays and amusements of other kinds. The religious year is full of days for boat racing and other sports, shadow shows and festive parades. Even funerals are a time for feasting and amusement.

The Malays are Mohammedans, set apart from both the Thai and the Chinese by their religion and by differences in diet which it requires. Although Christian missionaries have been allowed to establish churches, schools and hospitals, relatively few of the people are Christians. The Roman Catholic Church is more widely established than Protestantism.

Although elementary education has been free and supposedly compulsory since 1921, about 70 per cent of the population over 10 years of age are illiterate. Few receive higher education.

Malaria is the most destructive disease here, it is estimated that 3 million cases of malarial illness occur yearly and that the disease accounts for 20 per cent of deaths from all causes. Yaws (similar to syphilis, but not venereal), leprosy and tuberculosis present serious problems.

Rice is not only Thailand's staple food, but is grown on more than 90 per cent of the cropland, it is the chief export, bringing in more than half of the country's total income from exports. Thailand's rice, furthermore, is important to many other countries. Japan, India, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines depend upon it to supplement their own supply. Note that political stability in the countries where rice is the main item of food, often depends upon the people having enough of it, so Thai rice has political significance also for the area.

Other important crops are rubber, cotton, tobacco, copra, fruits and vegetables, of these rubber is the only important export. Thailand's large forests allow exports of considerable quantities of teakwood.

There are also valuable mineral resources, chiefly tin ore, and since World War II tin ore has been exported to the US and Malaya. Other minerals are tungsten, antimony, lead ore, gypsum and a small amount of iron (used locally).

Railroads here are modern and reputed for cleanliness and comfort. A modern railroad system completed before World War II was partly ruined by heavy Japanese usage during the occupation years and by Allied bombings, but extensive re-building and repair work has been done upon it, with equipment from the US, Great Britain and Japan.

The roads are not, however, sufficiently interconnected to make travel throughout the country by highway possible. Shipping is done mostly by railway and water, and barges carry rice down the Chao Phraya River to the coast. Automobiles are rather rare and bicycles are widely used.

The air facilities exceed by far the other communication facilities, except the inland waterways. In fact, Bangkok is the aerial gateway to the Far East. Thai air routes cover the kingdom and join it to near-by points in India, Hong Kong, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Malaya. Eighty-five per cent of Thailand's direct foreign trade is handled at Bangkok's docks, railroad termini and airport.

Bangkok is 994 miles from Singapore and 1,553 miles from Hong Kong; New York is 8,900 miles away, London 6,050 miles, Paris 5,900 miles, Berlin 5,500 miles and Moscow only 4,500 miles. In addition to direct access by air, it may be reached from Penang in British Malaya by rail, from Singapore by rail or steamer, from Hong Kong by steamer, and from Saigon by overland routes during certain times of the year or by

infrequent steamer service The Siam Navigation Company runs two coast-wise lines from Bangkok

Emerging from a storybook past, Bangkok is the most euphoric metropolis of Southeast Asia; while neighboring capitals are tense with ideologic strife, Bangkok is relatively serene, its amiable people welcome Westerners, give frequent parties, and apparently subscribe to their omnipresent Buddha's injunction to accept whatever *karma* (fate) brings

Yet just fifteen minutes by air from Bangkok lies some of the wildest country in the world, jungle-covered mountains teeming with lions, tigers, elephants, deadly snakes Some fifty miles outside the city begin neat farms, rich rice paddies and thatched-roof farmhouses built on stilts along canals, this is the fertile area that makes Thailand the world's second largest rice exporter (after Burma)

About one-fourth of Bangkok's two million people live on the Chao Phraya River and its canals, the causeways for the commerce of community life Like most Asian cities, Bangkok grew without plan and it sprawls in all directions The old jostles the new in great confusion, Bangkok now has two television stations, radios blare from ferryboats on the river, huge neon signs gaudily mark the latest wide-screen color spectacles Symbol of western progress, neon seems to light up everything from Chinese noodle and jewelry shops to the altar of the Emerald Buddha in the Wat Prakeo (When King Bhumiphol and Queen Sirikit recently returned from a trip abroad, they paraded under a score of neon-lit triumphal arches, designed in traditional fantastic Thai style)

Yet electricity, like plumbing, is relatively rare in the homes of Bangkok, limited to the well-to-do (Hope is that by 1963 the new Yanhee Dam being built with American aid in the northern hills of the Chao Phraya, will supply the city with power)

But only half of this, Southeast Asia's most cosmopolitan city, are Thai (one million), the rest are Chinese with a scattering of Indians and Malays, Laotians and Cambodians, there are also German, French, Scandinavian, Japanese, American and British business firms, missionaries, swarms of diplomats, including Japanese and Russian, and lately hundreds of American information, military and economic aid specialists—and now the US Marines

The only foreigners toward whom Bangkok Thais show hostility are the Chinese, Communist or non-Communist Until about twenty years ago, the Thais concentrated on farming and public service, scorned trade and industry; immigrant Chinese poured in and became a huge, powerful middle class, the Chinese section of Bangkok is the economic nucleus of the city and of the nation, the Chinese controlling virtually all the retail trade and the rice trade, keystone of Thailand's economy; they also own the largest restaurants, the theatres and movie houses, brothels, gambling halls and, until 1959, the legal opium dens

Unlike other Southeast Asian cities, Bangkok has never experienced starvation, rice, fruit and fish are cheap Malaria used to be Bangkok's chief scourge, but it is now virtually wiped out Still ravaging the city are intestinal infections and parasites (owing to poor sanitary facilities),

tuberculosis, pneumonia Infant mortality is 55.3 per 1,000 live births compared with 49 per 1,000 in Hong Kong and 35.8 in Tokyo, life expectancy is about 50 years Living in Bangkok are most of the country's estimated 100,000 opium addicts, 1.50 in the male working population (Thai Buddhism frowns on opium addiction) The opium habit has skyrocketed among Thai since World War II, as Westernization, with its concomitant stresses and strains, was accelerated

By playing one power against another, Thailand has succeeded, so far, in maintaining itself as the sole independent state of Southeast Asia, but this was achieved only at the loss of some territory and with restriction on its sovereignty for a considerable period

The history of the Thai dates back 3,000 years to the time when they lived north of the Yangtze River in the area which is today the Szechwan Province of Western China Before the Christian era, they had started on a long migration southward toward the rich farming lands in the river valleys of Burma, Siam and Indo-China During their migrations they were almost constantly at war

By the 1100's and 1200's AD they had settled in the northern area of what is now Thailand, displacing a pigmy people whom they found there, and pushed them back into the poorer lands of hills, where their descendants may still be found

Behind the Thai came the Chinese, seeking trade and commerce

Siam had little to do with outside nations until the 1600's, although the Portuguese had come to trade in 1518 and the Dutch in 1598, the English came in 1612, the Japanese in 1620, the French in 1662 Foreign trade concessions continued for most of the 1600's, but toward the end of that century the Siamese drove out the Europeans The Siamese became isolationists

The next hundred years brought almost continuous wars with Burma and great unrest in the country In 1782, General Chakri, a Siamese military leader, got control, he was the first of the Chakri line of Kings which rules even today, he made Bangkok his capital

During the 1800's European nations started reaching into Southeast Asia and established colonies After the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824, Burma yielded to English influence In 1859 France began its penetration of Indo-China, France and England began to dominate the area surrounding Siam In 1851, when Siam's leaders were in great fear of the Europeans at their doorsteps, a remarkable King named Mongkut came to the throne, as Rama VI, by right of succession he should have become King 27 years earlier, but a half-brother seized the throne and Mongkut entered the Buddhist priesthood until his brother's death During his retirement, he received a scholarly, Buddhist education, he also studied under American missionaries and from them learned English, Latin and the scientific attitude of Europe and America He developed remarkable skill in dealing with the Great Powers, Thai abandoned isolationism, he sought foreign trade and other contacts with the outside world, attracted a limited number of Westerners to the country and arranged for an Englishwoman, Mrs Anna Leonowens, to come to Siam to educate his son and heir, Chulalongkorn,

and his other children (the story on which is based *Anna and the King of Siam*) His policies also maintained his country's independence Though the Thai lost some territory to England and France in 1907 and 1909 they kept their sovereignty

King Chulalongkorn, whom the Thai consider one of their greatest men, was crowned in 1873 He had his sons educated abroad, his was an absolute monarchy (like that of his predecessors), but progressive (At his death in 1910 he left 600 widows, 134 sons and 326 daughters) During his reign the feudal system was abandoned, the civil service reorganized and slavery abolished, the judicial and tax systems were improved, a postal system reorganized and the building of a railroad begun

During the rule of Vajirabudh, who loved literature and drama, World War I broke out, Siam joined the Allies The next King, Prajadhipok, tried to deliver his country from the dangers of the world depression, in 1930 he had an economic survey made by Dr Carl Zimmerman of Harvard University and consulted an American political adviser, Raymond Stevens This was an important point in Siam's history, exemplifying US influence, as we shall see in a moment

Before 1932 Thailand was an absolute monarchy, then a successful revolution established a constitutional monarchy, combined with a parliamentary cabinet system King Phumiphol Aduldet has, however, retained the love and respect of his people and has considerable influence in the country The Parliamentary system, however, did not strike deep roots, the country has experienced a series of *coups* The most recent occurred on October 20, 1958, when Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat overthrown the Government, suspended the 1952 constitution and assembly, with the stated purpose of combatting Communist inroads King Aduldet proclaimed an interim Constitution on January 28, 1959, and named Marshal Thanarat Premier

During World War II, Siam officially collaborated with the Japanese, but there was an active, pro-ally underground In 1949 the country changed its name from Siam to Muang Thai (Land of the Free) Ever since it has looked westward, particularly to the United States, for support and emulation (There are now some 2,000 Thai students in the US and 500 in Britain)

The historical influence of the United States in Siam's affairs is most interesting, as it explains the background of the May 1962 landings of US Marines¹ The American-equipped Thai army played a major rôle in the September 1957 *coup d'état* which enabled Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat to seize control of the government

American influence in Siam began very early in the nineteenth century, American trading vessels came to Bangkok as early as 1818 and introduced Thai to many modern scientific and mechanical innovations An American diplomatic mission arrived shortly thereafter, and in 1833 Edmund Roberts

¹ The best available survey of the American policies in Thailand is Darling, Frank C, "American Policy in Thailand", *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol XV, 1, March, 1962, pp 93-110, who feels that the American military considerations have not much helped the development of constitutional democracy in Thailand

negotiated a commercial treaty with the King of Siam—the first treaty between the US and an Asian country. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Washington was the first capital to raise its diplomatic mission in Siam from a Consulate to a Legation, following World War I the US was likewise the first country to abolish its privileges of extra-territoriality (provided for in a treaty negotiated in 1856 by the renowned Townsend Harris)

One of the most pervasive influences exerted by the Americans in Siam during the last century was that accomplished by Protestant missionaries, who started arriving in the 1830's. Although they had virtually no success in converting the Thai to Christianity, they quickly turned to education, medical work and the introduction of modern technology. The Rev Jesse Caswell, an American Congregationalist, tutored the young Prince Mongkut in English and science (which had much influence when Mongkut later became King and opened the country to extensive contact with the West). An additional channel of American influence was opened in 1903 when King Chulalongkorn appointed Dr Edward Strobel of Harvard University as a foreign adviser, this appointment inaugurated the precedent of appointing an American from the Harvard Law School as an adviser in foreign affairs (which lasted until 1940). Other advisers such as Wolcott H. Pitkins had much influence in bringing Siam into World War I on the side of the Allies, Eldon R. James was active on behalf of the Siamese Government at the Versailles Conference. (Perhaps the most renowned among the American advisers was Francis B. Sayre, son-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson, who in 1925 led a special Siamese diplomatic mission to European capitals, where he succeeded in gaining complete judicial and fiscal autonomy for Siam.)

Along with the Europeans who came as advisers and traders, the Americans assisted in disseminating a wider understanding of Western political and social values. But Colonel Phibun Songkhram became Prime Minister in December 1938 and ruled the country under a rigid dictatorial rule until the end of World War II, and, on Japanese advice, declared war on the US and Great Britain in January, 1942. Next the American influence reasserted itself, the Thai Legation in Washington, headed by Minister Seni Pramoj, declared itself independent from the Bangkok Government and succeeded in convincing President Roosevelt that Phibun's declaration of war did not represent the genuine sentiment of the Thai people, the US refused to recognize the declaration of war, and American military and intelligence services gave much support to a "Free Thai" movement organized by the Thai Legation (composed of Thai students who had been attending universities in the US). (In fact, in one of the most successful OSS operations of World War II, the Free Thai movement provided the Allies with valuable intelligence on Japanese activities in Southeast Asia.)

By the end of World War II the close co-operation between the Americans and the Free Thai movement allowed the US to win a pre-eminent rôle in Thai internal affairs.²

² Unlike the Americans, the British had recognized Phibun's declaration of war, and with the cessation of hostilities they tried to treat Thailand as an enemy nation, the large British investments also brought forth numerous demands for the restitution of the damage inflicted to British property.

American sympathy for the Thai encouraged the US Government to intervene in the peace negotiations between Great Britain and Thailand; American pressure caused the British to give up most of their demands. Thereafter the US loaned Thailand \$10 million to restore the nation's transportation system, and American assistance helped Thailand to establish normal diplomatic relations with France and Nationalist China and gain membership of the UN. Such political and economic help was part of the American policy to promote the independence of all the countries in Southeast Asia from European colonial rule.

In February, 1948, a Communist *coup* had converted Czecho-Slovakia into a Soviet satellite, the US started rushing large-scale military and economic aid to Western Europe, at the same time Communist revolts were spreading rapidly throughout most of Southeast Asia. But Thailand was the only country within this turbulent region which remained relatively stable and calm, and since 1948 the overriding objective of US policy in Thailand has been to develop the country into a strong anti-Communist ally, serving as a geographical and political base in the defense of Southeast Asia. A large Military Advisory Assistance Group (MAAG) was established by the US in 1951 to train the Thai army, and until 1957 the American-owned Sea Supply Corporation provided training and arms to the Thai police. By 1960 the US had spent approximately \$500,000,000 in Thailand, the bulk of this money being devoted to military aid. Non-military aid programs have assisted the development of agriculture, transportation, public health, public administration, education and vocational training.

The SEATO alliance, formed in September, 1954, has placed its primary emphasis on military power in the defense of Thailand and Southeast Asia, in spite of unconvincing attempts to camouflage the treaty organization with economic and cultural activities. Bangkok became the headquarters of the SEATO secretariat and Pote Sarasin Secretary-General. American and Thai delegates at the UN maintain close liaison and seldom has Thailand voted against proposals submitted to the General Assembly by the US. The controversy over the admission of Communist China to the UN has found Thailand consistently on the American side.

Today Washington recognizes that the Communist powers always remember what the Free Nations sometimes forget—that East and West are One World. When the Asian front cracks, the European front crumbles, in Communist doctrine, the “road to Paris” leads through South Asia.

Thailand blocks further advance along that road. The Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia, precariously open to Communist aggression, circle Thailand on one side, Burma encloses it on the north and west, south across the Kra Isthmus is the Federation of Malaya and the Singapore prize. Across the narrow Strait of Malacca stretch the islands of Indonesia, carrying on an explosive and bitter anti-Dutch campaign aimed at the “restoration” of West New Guinea and restless under Communist cultivation. Beyond Timor lie Australia, the Coral Sea and New Zealand.

If Thailand is the heart of South Asia, it is also the citadel—a place of

strength as well as a point of danger. In order to save Southeast Asia, a defensive alliance of the Western and Pacific powers is a common sense approach to the situation. The realization of this goal has presented complex and delicate problems, as is shown by the reluctance of some members of the non-Communist world to join it. But, by May, 1962, the uncertainty so noticeable a few months ago about US willingness to draw a line against Communist aggression and subversion in this part of the world had, fortunately, to a large extent disappeared. The dispatch of the American marines proves a growing confidence in American capabilities and intentions, and a belief that Communism can be stopped in its tracks.

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RUSSIA'S 1984

PAT SLOAN

IN the year 1949, at the height of the cold war, George Orwell published his *1984*. This book was translated into twenty-five foreign languages, became a best-seller in the English-speaking world, and was adopted as a basis for a myriad of radio and television scripts.

Yet, in the light of the current new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, this book reads as a neurotic nightmare. For this is precisely what it was. It was a neurotic nightmare compounded of two main ingredients—the known fascist denigration of human values, together with the anti-social aspects of the now condemned “cult of personality” in the USSR. These were neatly fused together, and the resulting circulation in the Western world was as much or more due to the resultant alleged portrayal of future humanity under Communism than to literary merit.

In 1949 it was as yet not easy to procure, from the facts of Soviet life, a convincing rebuttal. The economic state of the USSR was just being restored to the pre-war level, and owing to excessive security measures, knowledge of what was happening was often concealed behind an irrational veil of secrecy. As late as 1951, when the Deputy Mayor of Stalingrad visited this country, she was asked by the Press the size of the population of her city. “I don’t remember,” was her reply. At that time even urban population figures were a security risk and secret!

So George Orwell got away with it for a number of years in the West. His book became almost proverbial.

Now, in the Soviet Union, the new Communist Party Programme has recently been adopted, after a nation-wide discussion in which the entire population, Communist and non-Communist alike, has had the opportunity to participate. Over seventy million people, one-third of the total population, participated. It has thus a national significance far beyond that of any “party programme” as understood in this country. And this programme outlines plans for the development of the USSR up to 1980. It thus provides the basis for a “re-think” about *1984*.

In the *Observer*, Edward Crankshaw noted that this new programme contains nothing “Orwellian”. In *The Times* of November 8 an article by a “Correspondent” points out that “it is not easy to comment sensibly on plans related to a distant date such as 1980, but those for 1970 seem, in general, serious, and it would be foolish indeed to follow the example of some thoughtless commentators and refer to them as ‘utopian’”. While this is *The Times* writer’s view regarding the industrial plan, he has doubts concerning agriculture. In this field Khrushchev himself prophesied at the recent Congress that he would be accused by the capitalist press of indulging in fantasy, but by citing the examples of successful farms whose productivity today is often as much as five times that of their less efficient neighbours, he showed that if all collective and state farms were as productive as the best, and fully allowing for natural differences, the targets would be easily surpassed. These observations, to his Soviet hearers, did

not appear at all unrealistic,* since apparent miracles have many times been wrought in the USSR already in the raising of efficiency

The Soviet Programme from now to 1980 can be split into three stages, as follows:

By 1965, with the conclusion of the present Seven Year Plan, and assuming American economic development to continue at its present average rate, the maximum working week will already be in process of reduction below 40 hours, while production *per capita* will already exceed that of the USA for a number of important products, and be approaching it in others

In a further five years, by 1970, Soviet production *per capita* will in the main have surpassed that of the USA, while the maximum working week will have been reduced to 30 or 35 hours

And, in the following ten years, assuming that none of this process is interrupted by war, the Soviet economy will forge ahead on all fronts, material, educational and cultural, producing for the first time in human history a Communist society based on plenty, enjoying as free public services such amenities as rent-free housing, free public transport, free meals at all schools and places of work, and a steadily expanding flow of social services in many other fields

Leisure will steadily increase. Paid holidays, at present not less than two weeks, but already three weeks for about one-third of those employed, will be raised to a minimum of three, and then to four, weeks.

The standards enjoyed by collective farmers in the countryside, still lagging behind the towns, will be brought up to urban level during the twenty years, so that the historic lag of country behind town is to be eliminated

In these ways, among others, it is estimated that, by 1980, the principle of "to each according to his needs" will be operating on a considerable scale, and that 50 per cent of real incomes will be drawn in the form of free public services. However, work will still be paid for, and ordinary articles of consumption will still be bought and sold

As already pointed out, *The Times* warns against treating such forecasts as "utopian". For, if analysed, they are found to be based on realistic calculations. The system of economic planning in the USSR is now working well, the annual rates of capital accumulation, increase in consumption goods, and of social services, are known and can be easily adjusted. The basic source of all increases in public wealth, the increase in labour productivity due to constant improvements in scientific and engineering techniques, is also under effective control. Under such a system it is possible to forecast future developments with considerable accuracy, so long, as no extraneous obstacle, such as war, intervenes to make a mess of things. This point, incidentally, is sharply made in the Programme itself.

At the forecasted rates of development, based on present knowledge and experience, it is calculated that by the end of 1970 industrial output will be one and a half times the figure for 1961, and by 1980 five times. Already

* This despite the recent falling-short of production below planned targets, a short-coming now being energetically tackled

by 1970 average production per head is expected to catch up or surpass that of the USA, so it can be envisaged how high the average standard will reach by 1980

Moreover, with an economic system which provides a steadily rising standard of life for all, with stress on the needs of the lower paid, and with no fear of redundancy or unemployment, there is a public interest in increasing production which—except in wartime—has always been lacking in the Western economies

The conception of an economy in which, over the years, prices are steadily and painlessly reduced relatively to earnings, and even ultimately reduced to zero, is in no way strange to people living in the environment of the USSR, however "utopian" it may appear in the West

The development after 1980, when even consumers' goods will come on the list of free social services, is equally acceptable to Soviet people. The conception of a community in which "each will receive according to his need" is no longer an elevating phrase from the works of Marx, but something to be looked forward to during the lifetime of the present generation

In the conception of Communist society not only does each receive according to need, but every person works according to his or her ability. The ultimate aim is that all work shall be voluntary, and all goods and services free, as in a well-run family. However, the question of getting people to work to the best of their ability, without pay, demands a high standard of public duty, it is a moral question as well as economic, and that is why, in the new Programme, morality figures prominently

For the first time, a section on morality has been inserted into the rules of the Communist Party

The new Moral Code embodies, on a socialist-communist basis, the doctrine of "Love thy neighbour", together with a concept of public duty. It includes the following: "Humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man to man a friend, comrade and brother. Mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children. Intolerance of national and racial hatred." In short, here is brotherly love in all its twentieth century aspects. To this are added "a high sense of public duty. conscientious labour for the good of society"

Speaking on this section of the Programme in his report to the Congress, Khrushchev said "The Communists extol and glorify free work as a source of life and of the wellbeing of all men, as a guarantee of social progress and prosperity. It is essential that we make the general public conscious and exacting with regard to people's behaviour. We want to make all people harmoniously developed. We must see to it in all earnestness that there are no moral cripples in our country"

Elsewhere in the Programme the all-round development of the individual is stressed, physically, intellectually and morally, in work, sport, science and the arts

It is clear here that we are faced with a twenty-year Programme of far more importance than a mere statistical accumulation of wealth. There is a parallel programme for education, extending democracy, and cultural

development so that, when the compulsory working day is six hours for a five-day week, people will have so many other constructive interests in life that they will have moved far and away beyond the bingo-loving housewives or obsessional football pools of this country. This is not to say that they will not follow football and other sports, but their whole way of life will be very different from ours. Work, at six hours daily, will have ceased to be a drudgery and a burden, and, in the words of the Programme, "will be a genuinely creative process and a source of joy."

We, in this country, know how the more skilled types of work, scientific research, the arts and crafts, have a joy in themselves quite apart from their wage or salary earning capacity. In the USSR it is estimated that by 1980 everyone will have had at least an advanced technical or higher education and that their jobs, through the rapid mechanisation of all unskilled occupations, will all be jobs of intrinsic interest. Work will have begun to be treated as being as essential to a full life as eating and sleeping. And so to the next stage, "from each according to his ability" without money incentives—a stage which will be beginning around 1984.

It is thus that the Soviet Communists' new Programme envisages human progress. On the basis of economic plenty, mankind will reach an age of real freedom, in which every individual can develop to the full in co-operation with the community as a whole, while twentieth century science, in the words of Khrushchev at the Congress, "must find ways of controlling thermonuclear reactions so that the limitless sources of nuclear energy will be employed for peaceful purposes: to control the climate and the weather, to conquer disease and increase the expectation of life, to control the vital processes of organisms, to create a countless number of artificial materials with desired properties, to conquer outer space and set up reliable communication routes in the Universe. This will be an entire epoch in the world history of science and technology, providing man with inexhaustible resources of energy and making him the true master of nature."

In many respects this new society will differ fundamentally from the West of today, and not only in the absence of vast personal accumulations of property, or in vast social accumulations of property hitherto undreamt of. Nothing could be more wrong than to imagine the USSR as competing with the USA in a race for the widest distribution of cars, washing machines and other gadgets, as Mr Crankshaw suggested in the *Observer*.

True, all labour-saving devices are to be made readily available, but not necessarily through uneconomic individual ownership. It may prove far more economical, and in the long-run more efficient, that the vacuum cleaners and washing machines be communally owned in large housing communities which provide a wide range of communal amenities.

Already today it is quite clear that the Soviet "race" with the USA does not envisage, now or ever, competition with the West in the private ownership of cars. This has already been categorically renounced in favour of the "best public transport system in the world." And here, in the West, we might well ponder how much the present street congestion due to private ownership of cars is due to a spontaneous "demand" by people for cars, and how much it is the result of high-pressure salesmanship by

car manufacturers, coupled with a far from adequate system of public transport. Would we, if we had been really "free" to choose, have chosen the path of our present street congestion if the alternative of a really cheap and efficient public transport system had been offered to us? The Soviet Union is choosing the latter alternative, a highly efficient public transport system, the germs of which are already in operation, developing into a free public service by 1980.

One of the "problems" of the West, often debated, is the so-called problem of leisure. Lord Keynes at Cambridge used to foresee a future when the "art of conversation" would be the only intelligent answer to this "problem." In the Soviet Programme, no such problem is envisaged at all. For, as leisure increases, democratic participation in public affairs is also planned to increase greatly, while creative participation in the arts, sports and science is expected to become well-nigh universal. A citizen is envisaged who, apart from his minimum quota of working at a "job", will be a voluntary participant in public life, while fully expressing his personal interests in the fields of family, sport, science and the arts.

Such a vista would be impossible in a society in which the making of money is universally exalted as an end in itself. But in a society where the joy of creation takes the place of the pleasure of pecuniary gain, enormous unexplored possibilities are opened up. This is why, on the basis of the economic statistics of today, it is possible to envisage the USSR of 1980 as pictured in the new Programme, so long, of course, as it is allowed to work out its own salvation in conditions of peace.

The achievement of such a state of society by 1980 will be a final blow to the myths of *1984*. Even the existence of such a Programme in 1962 makes *1984* look silly, as also do all the first-hand reports, of which there are now many, from returning visitors to the Soviet Union at the present time.

Up to now Orwell's *1984* has never been published in the USSR. Between now and 1984 the chances are that it will not only be published, but even may be recommended to all students of history, as a supreme example of how "the imperialists denigrated Communism in the days of their cold war against the Communist world."

If this were to happen, history would indeed have had its revenge on George Orwell.

LIBERIAN IMPRESSIONS

LEONARD F BEHRENS

THOSE who devote themselves to the service of the United Nations Associations do not expect, and only rarely receive any rewards for their devotion, except the reward of consciously serving the most vital political movement in the world. But a privileged few annually have the opportunity of attending the meetings of the World Federation of UNAs. The Federation has met seventeen times since its inauguration in Luxembourg in 1946, nearly always in Europe. But, as the Federation has grown from its original sixteen to about sixty, some have justifiably complained that it would be fairer if the Federation were to meet in places to which the more distant Associations had easier access. In consequence one meeting was held in Bangkok, next year it will be New York, this year the delegates met in Monrovia, the capital of the independent republic of Liberia. Thirty-two UNAs from thirty-two countries, including the USA, the USSR, indeed from all six continents, assembled for a week at the end of April, renewed friendships, repeated controversies and discussed common projects.

The purpose of the discussions has always been rather to discover the greatest measure of agreement than to pass resolutions by a facile majority. Indeed it is the discussions and the mutual exchange of opinions and prejudices which are far more valuable than the text of the resolutions passed. It is one of the most encouraging features of unofficial conferences of this nature that when men and women of different nationalities, from the most varied régimes, races and faiths, forgather for a common purpose, they tend with remarkable frequency to submerge their nationalities under the consciousness that they have much in common. This is obvious when the theme of a conference is scientific or cultural, it is more surprising when the topics are political and acutely controversial. Even if the gulfs are not spanned, there is a stretching out of hands, and Communist and democrat, dark-skinned and fair-skinned, become usefully aware of points of view, which are far more intelligible and reasonable when they are argued about among colleagues than when they are presented in distant reports and newspapers.

Liberia itself is a unique country. As is generally known, it was founded by benevolent Americans as a home for freed slaves, and a large part of the inhabitants are the descendants of these re-immigrants. But the vast areas of the country outside the capital are still peopled by tribes, whose home it has been for immemorial years. The result is an incredible diversity of cultures, from the upper classes of Monrovia to sheer primitives of "Darkest Africa." Twenty-five miles from the main road there are countless villages, which civilisation has not yet reached. Next door to Liberia are territories and peoples who have been administered by colonial powers, and it was an African delegate who pointed out that Liberia and Ethiopia were the only parts of Africa which had not enjoyed the benefits conferred by the fiercely attacked "colonialism" of Europe. Liberia has had political independence, but, apart from the Firestone rubber planta-

tions and the recently discovered and operated deposits of iron ore, it has been tragically neglected. It is strange that such a land, with a tropical climate, with fertile soil and abundant supplies of water, should have to import nearly all those commodities, without which civilised life, as we understand it, is impossible. Happily the neglect of the land and people, which has held them back, is being remedied by the presence and activities of the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies, agriculture, which hardly exists, medical care (the infantile death rate under eighteen months is reported to be 80 per cent), technical assistance, child welfare, civil aviation and labour problems are being cared for by devoted servants of the United Nations, whose purpose is purely to help the people among whom they work. The problem is immense, and the workers are few and their resources utterly inadequate, but a beginning is being made. It will by degrees redress past neglect, and it will show to the peoples of Africa that the more fortunate races of the world are coming to understand not only the moral duty, but also the economic advantage of contributing to the development of their less privileged brothers and sisters. That much-maligned thing called "colonialism" has had its virtues as well as its vices, but even the most virtuous and altruistic colonial power in these days is subject to attack and to suspicion, however ill founded, the new method of international succour cannot even be suspected of ulterior motives. And, of course, the burden of bringing aid is lightened when it is shared by the community of nations, and not borne by a single power.

One thing in particular mystifies the stranger: what language are the people talking? There are, of course, tribal languages and dialects, but, in the town, when a visitor enquires of two Liberians what language they are speaking, he is invariably told "English." This is strange, because the conversation is utterly unintelligible, and the suspicion arises that the claim to be speaking English is a form of snobbery. This suspicion is unworthy and ill founded. The truth is that the speech is a descendant from the English of the Southern States of North America, adapted and, as we should say, debased in the mouths of generations of Africans, so that it is incomprehensible to Englishmen and Americans. But can an Englishman always understand some of the dialects and modes of speech in his own country, or even the language of Milton and Shakespeare, uttered by some Americans?

Monrovia is the only town in Liberia. As far as a visitor can see, there is nothing else in the country but scattered villages with little intercommunication. The city is growing rapidly and the civic buildings and the new dwellinghouses afford, and are going more and more to afford a pleasant relief beside the jumble of shacks which make up most of the residential area. There is one supremely good hotel, in which the traveller may hire for himself accommodation of luxury at the equivalent of seven pounds sterling a night, meals extra. The other hotels appear to be below the standard of ordinary European comfort, although they, too, are beyond the means of ordinary folk. For the most part, Monrovia and the country belong to a sordid past; but there are many signs of them both becoming agreeable and prosperous. What is required is disinterested aid

from outside and the spread of activity and enterprise from the leaders to the largely apathetic and indolent generality of the people

The constitution of the country is closely imitative of the United States. The national flag is made up of one star and stripes, and the currency is the American dollar. The paper money is American, but Liberian coinage is making its appearance. This is a portent of some significance. The country is waking up and the governing class contains men and women, especially women, who have ambitions for their compatriots. Land of adequate extent has been acquired some twenty miles from the capital for the foundation of a great University and there is talk of foreign help in the institution, as part of it, of a substantial department of agriculture with lecture rooms, laboratories and an experimental farm. Many of the richer parents are already sending their children abroad, especially to the United Kingdom, for their education. Those that have returned are active and persistent in their efforts to raise the standards of the people, and undoubtedly they will succeed. The obstacles are baffling: indolence, some evil traditions, the accumulation of great wealth in few hands, these cannot be overcome in a year or in many years. But, if the impressions of a casual visitor are reliable, the advance, though slow, is likely to be gradual rather than abrupt, continuous rather than revolutionary. Liberia has inherited much that is bad: it may be spared some of the disasters which have caused suffering and setbacks in countries with greater initial advantages.

THE GREEK THRONE

THOMAS ANTHEM

WHEN the late Kaiser visited Athens at the beginning of this century, he was amazed at the absolute lack of enthusiasm on the part of the people as he drove through the streets. There was no thronging of the thoroughfares as in other European capitals, citizens merely took a casual look, and went about their business. When he enquired the reason from his royal hosts—the Crown Princess Sophia was his sister—he was informed that that was the reception usually accorded to kings and princes. The Greeks were democratic to the roots and republican in spirit.

How, then, does one account for the gay, carnival scenes which marked the recent wedding in Athens of the Princess Sophia to Prince Don Juan Carlos, Pretender to the Spanish Throne, and of which I was an eyewitness? The multitude was in the streets, as in the case of Queen Elizabeth's wedding in London, hotel balconies and every vantage point were crowded, and the cheers of the Greeks mingled with the shouts of "Ole!" from the thousands of Spaniards who had come to Greece for the big occasion, as the procession, with all the adornments of State coach and military, went down the Othos Venizelos to the church. Appearances can, of course, be deceptive, but hardly on this vast scale. I felt myself asking "Are the Greeks of 1962 basically different from those of, say, 1905?" I think not, but the answer to the question, which is of great

political importance in relation to the future of Greece, requires careful consideration

Just before the royal wedding, the Throne, as a highly placed Greek Government official remarked to me, had been under "a heavy attack in Parliament" I was already aware of it, from excerpts from the Greek Press in the English language newspapers in Athens, which also gave their own reports of the Beule proceedings. The cause of the Opposition's resentment and attack, which renewed all the old charges against King Constantine and his wife, Sophia—the Kaiser's sister—in the First World War, i.e. of secretly assisting the Central Powers, was, of course, the amount of the Princess's dowry from the State—£107,000. Not unnaturally, this large sum, borne by what most foreigners regard as a poor country, provoked considerable criticism abroad—especially in Britain and America. English people had read that after a 24-day shopping expedition in London, during which all the Greek royal family, with the Spanish Prince, had put up at the expensive Claridge's Hotel, 105 cases, boxes and wooden crates, contained in three vans, were loaded on board a chartered jet airliner, to be flown back to Athens. One woman journalist said that the Princess's trousseau "could not have left much change out of £7,000". King Paul, her father, was said to have given her a mink coat costing £2,000.

Many fair-minded British people felt there was just cause for the criticism of the leader of the Centre Union, Mr. George Papandreou, that the size of the dowry, considering Greece's 200,000 unemployed and 1,000,000 under-employed, was too lavish. But there were other aspects of the matter of far greater moment, which, affecting Greece's economy and financial resources as they undoubtedly do, seemed to call for an explanation, and I decided to frame a series of questions for the Prime Minister, Mr. Karamanlis, to answer, when I saw him at my impending interview. The Premier, however, candidly admitting that he was "no politician", and that he had a big job on hand with the nation's economy, said that the Foreign Minister, Mr. Averoff-Tossizza, would answer my questions in writing.

The questions I put may be summarised thus

1 How can a poor country, with so many thousands of unemployed, many in real need, be so generous in its luxury expenditure? Will not this tend to drive democratic Greece nearer to the Communist camp?

2 Will this lavish dowry not affect Greece's ability to obtain loans from international sources in order to implement her economic development? Will the American people, for instance, be so ready to assent to generous aid for Greece if they think the money is being squandered?

3 While the Prime Minister may think the insistent demands of foreign bondholders unreasonable, will not this expenditure on royalty provide a justifiable excuse for expecting repayment within a specified time?

4 Why, it is asked, was the Government of General Dovas (Caretaker Government) able to make a loan of 3 million drachmae (£36,000) to the King, when the country is in such a necessitous condition?

Mr. Averoff-Tossizza, after my interview with him and Mr. Karamanlis, duly supplied categorical answers to my questions. As to the dowry, he said "It stands as a tradition in modern Greece that a dowry should

be given to the daughters of its Kings. Towards the close of last century, when Greece was incomparably poorer, the daughters of King George I (brother of Queen Alexandra of England), received a dowry of 400,000 gold francs, an amount which, in relation to the Budget, was higher than the present sum. The dowry is not only a principle accepted by the Greek people, but it is the will of the majority that it should be granted, since it is a fact that the Greek Royal Family has no private fortune of its own.

"It is noteworthy that when certain elements of the Opposition raised objections to the dowry, many of the poorer villages, which had been assisted by the Royal Institutions, proposed to raise a fund to provide a dowry for the Princess. In addition, a number of wealthy Greeks offered to give money, and others proposed that every Greek should contribute one drachma to create a fund of £100,000. The Government, however, considered it more proper that the State should give a dowry, rather than accept funds raised in this way."

As to my further questions the Foreign Minister replied thus:

"We do not believe it. The sum is totally insignificant in face of what is spent for State administration, or for the rehabilitation of the country. It is equally insignificant compared to the sacrifices made by Greece in her recent struggles for freedom."

As to the foreign bondholders, Mr. Averoff-Tossizza said. "The Government have repeatedly stated that they intend to settle their public debt, and they will keep their promise." And of the 3 million drachmae loan made by the Provisional Government of General Dovas during the General Election, he replied "This loan was to impose no burden on the national Budget. Meanwhile, the full amount of the loan was refunded by the Royal Civil List."

I felt that, as some of the answers of the Foreign Secretary were not convincing enough or relevant enough for the detached and discerning foreign observer, I ought to give Mr. George Papandreou, the leader of the Centre Union and a great Liberal statesman (Sir Winston Churchill had special praise for him during the 1944 troubles in Athens), an opportunity of commenting on the controversial question. So I went out, at his invitation, to see him at his beautiful villa in Kastrì, some way out of Athens. I found him fair and objective on all aspects of the monarchy. In the first place, he rejected the idea that there was any military clique sustaining the Throne against the will of the people. After the Plebiscite of 1946, which was to determine whether George II, who died in 1947, should return to the country, there was no question, he said, about the validity of the régime. The result of the Plebiscite was conclusive. *For the King, 1,136,289; Against, 524,771*. "I myself have accepted the will of the people," said Mr. Papandreou. He thought, however, that the people's decision was influenced by their fear of Communism, and that they regarded the Throne as a guarantee against this creed, and as a rallying point for Greek national feeling.

But he was quite certain the Government had made a blunder over the amount of the Princess's dowry. "I think the majority of the people were against such a large sum," he commented. "They would have sanctioned a reasonable figure, but £107,000 was out of all proportion, considering the country's need. It constituted a failure on the part of the Government, in the face of the present situation, and the Government's action will

greatly encourage Communist propaganda" Speaking of the country's unemployed and under-employed, he said that the measures of relief were "totally inadequate" That was why so many thousands were leaving Greece to work in Germany and Australia and other countries He contrasted the amount of the dowry given to a poor Greek girl—1,000 drachmae, or about £11—such dowries are distributed by Queen Frederika—with the £107,000 bestowed on the Princess

Would the Communists not find ample scope for propaganda in that glaring disparity? When I mentioned the question of the probable effect on Greece's capacity to obtain international loans, Mr Papandreou immediately replied, and with emphasis "I am absolutely agreed on the detrimental effect such a dowry will have on the country's borrowing." The significance of this view may be seen in the announcement, shortly after I left Athens, that a series of economic setbacks might force the Greek Government to curtail its programme of State investments, totalling about £70 millions this year A warning that the steady economic advance might be jeopardised first came with the news that American aid, which has been relieving the Greek Budget of part of its military defence burden, was to end And oddly enough, just before I arrived in Athens, and about a week before the royal wedding, Dr Stikker, Secretary-General of NATO, had declared that the fact that Greece had defaulted on her pre-war foreign debt created "technical difficulties" in the granting of economic aid by some international agencies

I think Mr Averoff-Tossizza is wrong in saying that the amount of the Princess's dowry is "totally insignificant" compared with what the State is spending on its economic rehabilitation What seems to me important is not the material amount, but the psychological effect, both internally and abroad; the effect, for example, on the heavily burdened US taxpayer and the nations which contribute to the international loans Internally, the lavish dowry could conceivably defeat the very purpose for which the Government apparently desires the Throne to prevail a "guarantee" against Communism For Communism everywhere thrives on hunger and discontent, and there are far too many people in Greece living far below the Western standard of nourishment and well being for the Government to over-indulge a royal family which has not a drop of Greek blood in the veins of any of its members The stern facts have to be faced by all Greeks who have their country's interests at heart, and who do not wish to see "Eternal Greece" take a political slide behind the Iron Curtain The taxpayers abroad may not disagree with Greece having a constitutional monarchy, but they will certainly expect that the burden would be commensurate with Greece's economic resources and that the expenses of the royal household should be on a reasonably modest footing There could be no contentment among the Greek people if they felt that there was luxury-living at the Palace whilst so many thousands had little to eat

It surely can be little consolation to those in want in Greece today to be told that at the close of the nineteenth century, when Greece was "incomparably poorer", the daughters of King George I, who were of German-Danish stock, received a dowry of 400,000 gold francs? In this enlightened

age which aims at social equality, that magnanimity at the expense of the poor could only be regarded as immoral and misguided. And it is very doubtful if the "poor" in Greece of sixty or more years ago were in such poor estate, and often so hungry, as the poorer sections of the Greek population today. In an economy only recently risen from the ashes, any surplus for spending outside expenditure on works of rehabilitation should surely go to the welfare of the masses, and not to the over-indulgence of a few privileged individuals, whatever their position in the State.

In my enquiries to ascertain just how far the common people of Greece had acquiesced in the granting of a dowry of £107,000 to Princess Sophia, who has now left the Greek Orthodox Church for the Roman Catholic, I sought the opinion of an Athenian lady who has long been engaged in social work in the country and is known in England. She said that, from what she had learned, the bulk of the ordinary people were definitely "shocked" at the amount of the dowry. This was also the view of a lawyer friend, who said that, though the majority of the people felt that the Throne was some sort of guarantee against a resurgence of Communism, they were generally resentful at the size of the dowry. One woman had bitterly declared to him that the Government had enriched a Spanish prince at the expense of the unemployed and poor of Greece.

Such is the situation involving the Throne in Greece today. The Throne was restored in Greece with the over-riding consideration that, in the prevailing circumstances, it was an essential antidote to Communism. It would be the height of irony if the Government, which is the power behind it, so directed its destinies as to possibly promote its disintegration, and at the same time, which is even worse, impaired the safety of the State by an instrument it had supposed would ensure national independence and preserve the Greek cultural and spiritual heritage. If constitutional monarchy is the best form of government for Greece, one would expect the cost to be well within the capacity of the Greek nation to bear. What the cost and upkeep of the royal palaces and yachts are I do not know. The King receives a salary of 12 million drachmae (about 400,000 dollars) a year, the Crown Prince 30,000 dollars. The Queen and the Princesses receive no salary. On the face of it, however, the salaries of the King and Crown Prince must appear as wealth beyond the dream of avarice to Greek workers and unemployed.

It seems a strange thing that modern Greece has never had a Greek Sovereign. They have all been foreigners, either of German or Danish extraction. The example of Capo d'Istria,* assassinated at Nauplia, showed that Greeks would not submit to being ruled by a Greek, at least in the early days of the kingdom. It might be different today, and indeed there is some hankering after a Greek dynasty. There was one divergence from the foreign line when the beautiful daughter of Colonel Manos married King Alexander, who died later from a monkey bite. As Princess Aspasia, she was, and is, the only Princess of Greek blood, excepting her daughter, who married Peter of Yugoslavia.

* Vide "The Russian Career of a Greek Statesman" [Capo d'Istria] Deryck Abel
CONTEMPORARY REVIEW November, 1946

CONTEMPORARY PROFILE—

PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA

GEORGE BILANKIN

MODERN TUNISIA is the undisputed achievement of one dreamer, writer, fighter, optimist, who held out a gentle hand to foolish conquerors, and was treated with a violence that will shame Frenchmen so long as the history of the white races is part of the human heritage. Maligned by rivals, loved by his people with an adulation difficult to credit, misunderstood by distant comrades, but trusted for over thirty years by colleagues who recognise he is unique, yet mortal and fallible, President Habib Bourguiba presents at 59 a fabulous portrait for the student of world affairs

Bourguiba stands guard at the fateful northern door to all of Africa that has been famous ever since the queen fleeing Tyre, near Jerusalem, founded the mighty city of Carthage 814 years before the Christian era. For seven centuries the Phoenicians spread and sowed civilisation and power, commerce and navigation, west to Senegal, east to Egypt, taught soldiering in the Alps and in Spain, till jealous Rome destroyed all the signs except fine mosaics, splendid sarcophaguses, beautiful coins near Carthage. It would be surprising if Bourguiba were ever to forget he is the product, as are his genial and gentle people, of three thousand years of mingling of Phoenicians and Vandals, Greeks and Romans, Arabs and Jews, and, in the past eight decades, of arrogant and often viciously small white emigrants from the state whose civilisation he continues to love more than any on this uncivilised earth.

President Bourguiba's most lasting, impressive and worth-while contribution may be, however, to mankind, not in freed, near-freed, Tunisia, but far beyond the gracious tropical shores that pour glamour into sun-starved western bodies. For in this Arab republic, proud of its sacred Islamic city of Kairouan, with miraculous mosques and minarets, there are rare tolerance, and rarer racial co-existence. In Tunisia the dignity of man is of the kind that will have to be copied widely, if our tiny and ever-shrinking earth is to preserve a dearly-achieved and delicately-poised peace. The French have a lamentable record, in leaving a pitiful number of schools and colleges for technicians, few Tunisian doctors, nurses, teachers, hospitals or industries. Their super-Amritsar, at Bizerta in 1961, shocked Arab and Moslem opinion, revealing squalor of heart and mind in the death spasms of an exhausted old mistress of empire. Yet Bourguiba insists on warm welcomes for hundreds of French teachers. They are treated courteously in many schools from sad Bizerta and sadder Sakiet, down to Homer's immortal paradise, the lotus-eaters' isle of Djerba. Despite the creation of the state of Israel, and the minor later exodus of some Tunisian Jews to France, maybe elsewhere beyond Italy, descendants of Jews who reputedly came to Djerba 2,300 years ago, to found a magnificent synagogue with proud silver memorial tablets, are accorded absolute equality. Maybe Bourguiba's colleagues remember the Frenchman who

treated Tunisia soberly at last, in 1954 and 1955, Mendès-France ended the vile repression near-rivalling the seven years' agony endured by Algeria.

One of Bourguiba's rich supporters, André Baruch, who shared his spiritual and physical trials beneath tents in the merciless Sahara, inspired a sentence that lives today "The presence of Jews and Moslems in the camp, fighting side by side, suffering for the ideal of justice and liberty, is particularly noteworthy of our Neo-Destour movement, it will always remain thus" Bourguiba's secretly sent letter from Remada, dated April 29, 1952, is honoured today by the party, in full power Baruch became a respected Minister after independence in 1956, and may return to office When Bourguiba's chief lieutenant and aristocratic fellow-student in Paris, Mr Mongi Slim, distinguished President of the United Nations Assembly in 1962, rare authority on French and Tunisian political prisons, went to Paris to negotiate home rule, he was accompanied by the aristocrat of Tunisian Jewry, Maître Albert Bessis The Grand Mufti of Tunisia, Mohamed el Fadel ben Achour, widely influential, and his father, Grand Mufti for fifty years, eternally young, call Maître Bessis "our friend"

Clemenceau shouted angrily in the French Parliament in 1881 "You have lied to us" He had discovered the subterfuges to present deputies with a *fait accompli* in savaged Tunisia The Palace of Bardo, now an enthralling museum none would miss visiting for a day, saw the signing of the shameful "treaty" on May 12, 1881 The "Convention" followed, on June 8, 1883, in the royal palace of La Marsa This was the time also of the British rape of Egypt, the merciless burning of the city of Alexandria on July 11, 1882, the resignation of John Bright, the "trial" of the patriot Arabi for 3½ minutes, sentence of death, and dispatch to exile in Ceylon, with an occupation "for only a few months till order is restored", that lasted 74 years till President Nasser swept the slate clean Gladstone's assurance to Parliament on November 14, 1882, was "The occupation is only provisional"¹

I was a guest in the royal palace at La Marsa a few weeks ago in the salon where foreign ambassadors present letters of credence to the President The flowers from the gardens were as exciting as the bowers, as the softness of the choice carpets from Kairouan Members of the Government and principal officials sat side by side with high court judges, in dignified black and gold robes and round hats The Grand Mufti, elegant and tall in cream robes and golden imama, read his address, as did the Mayor of La Marsa, who is Minister of the Interior I was one yard away from the President during the marriage to Madame Wassila Ben Amar His eyes met mine several times as they sought out the framed picture on the wall, of a resolute young rebel against French occupation, printed for the hunters by the French police, Bourguiba side face and full face

¹ But even in 1936 Eden, Foreign Secretary, "assured" Parliament that his twenty year "treaty" of friendship was near-eternal "Even if the treaty is revised, such revision must provide for the continuance of the alliance in accordance with the principles of Article 7" Hence, perhaps, his politically suicidal disapproval of Nasser's resolve that 74 years of hypocrisy was more than enough

For half an hour I watched tears run down Bourguiba's deep sunken, taut cheeks, a crying bride by his side in shimmering gold Tunisian robes to the ankles, with conventional décolletée. This was high drama in real life. The President in morning cut-away dress knew the witnesses, all men, had shared crude, studied humiliations in the Sahara, or in cells. Had he not written in prose that often reaches lyrical heights with austere simplicity, from one camp or other that he would be carried out on a stretcher, or be executed, or merely condemned to death? And his crime? The act of wishing to free his stolen Tunisian soil. As I glanced at the "father" of the people, I sensed swiftly why all the cunning and persistent tortures by evil men of my colour, could not, did not destroy Habib Bourguiba. His passion for his people's rights was too deep to be soiled by richly paid functionaries touring Tunisia for a day, or a year, or decade. Hundreds of friends who knew of his stay in hospital for two years at Le Kief to struggle with bronchial troubles, had urgently pleaded he should surrender the uneven battle against powerful occupants, and rest satisfied with success as the advocate who could enjoy fashionable holidays with other collaborators in costly Evian. Bourguiba chose battle, years of penury and want, continuous danger of harsh arrest, by the side of his devoted brother, members of his inspiring little family, and fearless political colleagues.

Beneath hot lamps for moving-cameramen the bridegroom must have often asked if he was in a dream about La Marsa, for a century one of the residences of the "Bey and Possessor of the Kingdom of Tunisia." He unfolded the new handkerchief, moved it across the single silver star decoration on the breast and dried the bride's nearer cheek. The embraces and kisses on cheek of doctors, lawyers and teachers, now members of the governing élite, who had shared hounded exile or camps, were more heart-rending than any scene designed for stage. Bourguiba remained master of the splendid setting, bestowed individual marks of deep or great love, affection, regard, liking, approval, or of thanks. Perhaps over Tunisian red orange juice and inimitable datecakes he felt the hurdles of the long climb had brought victory. Fate had united him to the woman of known family who had aided the revolutionaries, had defied the police at Beja, had held the demonstrator's flag and inspired other women to courageous resolve. And the Bey, born in unforgettable 1881? He is happily watching endless clocks in a cosy residence, provided after his deposition, with the country's adoption of the republican system.

A day later I was turning the clock back fifty-eight years, on the majestic Gulf of Hammamet. I was in the home of Monastir where the youngest of eight children of a modest officer in the Bey's army was born, destined to win Tunisia back for the Tunisians. I walked from the spacious courtyard into a tiny kitchen, into the pigeons' enclosure, into the two bedrooms with sewing machines and family photographs. The rent in the opening of the century was a few shillings a month. The crisp air from the gulf gave me an appetite in the modern hotel (private bathroom for every bedroom), and I admired the Uren-style original summer residences built for all senior ministers and president at Skanes. From this corner of the

Sahel Habid went to his brother M'Hammed's in Tunis as bursar at Saddiki College. Six years later, through ill-nourishment, he spent two years in Le Klef fighting pulmonary tuberculosis. Back in the Lycée Carnot, he endangered his future by wiring a protest to the Governor ("Resident-General") for the suppression of the weekly, *Es Sawab*. Was this surprising? Had his grandfather and an uncle not had their property confiscated in 1864, for taking part in an insurrection "put down" by General Zarrouk? In 1924, with a special allowance from Carnot and a good baccalauréat, Bourguiba went to Paris, married, had a son (Habib Bourguiba junior, now aged 35, the Ambassador in Washington), and brought back a law degree and diploma from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques. He made many friends, missed meals to visit the Comédie Française, read often *Les Misérables* and *La Légende des Siècles*. The eighteenth century writers gladdened his heart, as did the Arab thinkers, Chawqui, who died in 1937, and, of course, Al Moutanabi. Marx did not take root, for he preferred a society in which people could argue freely, Renan's humanity and eloquence rather than Hegel.

A member of the Bar now in a changed Tunis, he left the old Destour Party to become Secretary-General of the vigorous Neo Destour in March, 1934. His *L'Action Tunisienne* had been banned in May, 1933, not surprisingly, for he wrote without fear. Soon his party's activities led to deportation, to the horror of cold nights and sizzling days under tents in a camp lost amid the sands at Bordj Leboeuf, Sahara. M. Léon Blum's "Popular Front" Government brought a change, existence in the paradise of Djerba or Gabes, then freedom. But deep differences now led to the ghastly shootings, on April 8 and 9, 1938, when a French gendarme died and about 122 Tunisians were killed and 62 injured. Three thousand Neo Destour party members were arrested. Bourguiba, Mongi Slim and others were accused of plotting against the security of the State and taken from the prison at Teboursouk at dawn on May 27, 1940, to Marseilles. In Haut Fort St. Nicholas the horrors make conditions in Yugoslavia's "Dartmoor", of Lepoglava, seem like a version of Claridge's. Thence to Fort Montluc in Lyon, Fort Vancia, L'Ain, Nice and Rome. But the tempting offers in Rome did not induce Bourguiba to desert the allied cause. Already, in 1942, he had on August 8 strongly pleaded from prison to leaders in Tunisia for unconditional aid to the Allies, who would "most assuredly" win.

Five years after being arrested, Bourguiba was back in Tunis and wished to publish an appeal for aid to the Allies. The American Consul-General Doolittle intervened with the negative commander, General Juin. Bourguiba left his "clandestine" existence in Tunis for "freedom"—under continuous observation. He took a smuggler's tiny boat in March, 1945—to seek world help, and reached Cairo with Mr. Taieb Slim, through Tripoli, a month later. A tour of the Arab and Moslem lands and America (there was no visa for London) followed. He returned to a delirious welcome by Tunisia on September 8, 1949, toured the country for seven months. Visits to Paris, the United States and (a more helpful) London proved world interest but the irrepressible Bourguiba defied the

"Resident-General's" ban on a party meeting in 1952. At dawn on January 18 he and his friends were deported to Tabarka. On March 26 when Tunisian Ministers were being arrested, Bourguiba was flown by military transport to lonely Remada, in the Sahara, near grim Bordj Leboeuf.

Here the horrors soon ended, and his Jewish supporters, André Baruch and Victor Baranes, among others, watched Bourguiba taken away. He was to taste years of sadism, all alone, in a broken down fortress, on a sea-swept little isle rock, La Galite, sixty miles from Bizerta. He confided his anguish to the friend of years, open and secret fighter for Neo Destour in Paris, M Masmoudi. Could he survive the endless vomiting? Then he saw "freedom"—to roam an isle off France, Ile de Groix. But the coming to power of Mendès-France meant the first real hopes for Tunisia, Bourguiba was moved to Château de la Ferte, Amilly. Mendès-France startled Tunisia and the world, suddenly announcing in glamorous Carthage on July 31, 1954: "Tunisian internal autonomy is recognised and proclaimed." His Cabinet had said "Yes" only the previous day in Paris. Bourguiba's long dreary black night was ending, his critics confounded, for two years later came complete independence—with only rusty barbed wire fences near the atomic, naval, underground and other extensive "bases" about Bizerta, to disappear.

And the record today? Pride has returned, dignity; houses have sprung up, education is a model to many larger states, industries have been begun, skill has developed in Tunisian crafts, the streets and roads are clean, crime has almost disappeared and is utterly negligible, hospitals are rising by the dozen. Thanks to Bourguiba's best Cabinet Minister, the intellectual M Messadi, schools have sprung up with volunteer labour in towns and villages and in the midst of "nowhere" by the dunes; the throbbing University is a splendid new building, with records to shake many an older institution, the School of Languages (under M Rafik Said) could teach endless lessons abroad in dynamic inventiveness.

The record of 12,500 waiting cases that greeted Bourguiba's young and modest Minister of Justice, M Hedi Kefacha, is down to 1,200, his revolutionary commentaries, reporting and discussion of decisions merit study in lands with far more pride about little. Administration began from the bare earth, for cadres were (and are) pitifully limited. Who can remain unmoved by the miracles in the magnificent Valley of the Medjerda? One man, M Mohamed Jeddi, has produced about 1,500 model houses with courtyards and lively farms adjoining, taught men and women where to plough, how, what to sow and when, what fine animals to breed and why, where to place the new food, and to rest knives, spoons and forks.

Critics say Tunisia depends too much on American aid. But her share down to 1961, at 255 million dollars, represents a shy peanut by the side of Britain's 8,685 million, France's 9,431, Germany's 5,128, Yugoslavia's 2,280, Chiang's 4,861, Korea's 5,229 and Greece's 3,215. Tunisia is fast developing her modest riches, mostly agricultural, and intense activity may bring up expected liquid gold, too. Bourguiba is questioned about Bizerta,

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RUSSIAN ART—

THE FORGOTTEN REVOLUTION

P M T SHELTON-WILLIAMS

WHAT happens to revolutionaries when the Revolution becomes the Establishment? If experience in Russia is anything to go by, they are suppressed. The innovators, the experimentalists who had been ruthless in their criticism of the Czarist régime, discovered, after a short springtime of heady freedom, lasting approximately until 1922-1923, that they were once more in opposition to the State. The conformers and academicist Yes-men who had paid lip service to their Imperialist masters before the Revolution now came pouring back into power, taking for themselves all the positions of bureaucratic control which has to a large extent bedevilled Russian cultural affairs until today.

No-one suffered worse from this cynical *turgum-vertere* than the *avant garde* Russian painters and sculptors. The bloom of a late industrial revolution had spread over all the arts, painters and sculptors especially saw in the machine a new inspiration. The machine-as-machine influenced their own work to the point where many of their artifacts appeared to untutored eyes more like machinery or industrial specifications than objects of art. Some of these mechanically minded artists had even taken technical courses in engineering and kindred subjects so as to infuse a note of authenticity into their work. When they saw their aesthetic ambitions blasted by the academic dictators of the new order, many of them quietly went into industry (for which they were already trained) and disappeared without trace. Their defection from the Fine Arts was (and is) Russia's resounding loss. Others left the Soviet Union in disgust to find a free society where they could pursue their careers unpersecuted by aesthetic commissars. Those not cut out for a technological existence or a nomadic life among foreigners, and who could yet not appreciate a martyr's crown, forced themselves to accept a complete reorientation within the straight-jacket of Soviet artistic policy, emerging ultimately as colourless artists of officialdom. After a generation of protest against Czarist control, they found the irony of maintaining the struggle against erstwhile allies too much to stomach. Not for them the spiritual battle of Pasternak, or the tortured path of Ilya Ehrenburg and Eisenstein, the uncertainties of Shostakoviitch and Khachaturian.

Such would seem to be the history of the dissolution of Russian Modern Art. John Berger, who speaks in Britain for the Art of the Social Conscience, has produced sporadic proof to show that the picture is not as black as it is painted. Yet his evidence of something in Russia akin to what we have come to understand by Modern Art is slim, and nobody has been able to substantiate the tales of travellers who speak of modern artists in Russia, working in secret, their cellars stacked with bewildering canvases that never see the light of day and which are only shewn to a few trusted friends.

Recently, one of the early protagonists, the architect Lubetkin, broke

silence on the subject in a TV interview with Huw Wheldon. He interpreted the collapse of experimental art in Russia as a social reaction whose outcome could not have been different. Professor Lubetkin, an eminent émigré, demonstrated the connection between the world shortages and make-do-and-mend amateurism (in which the Russian Constructivists and Suprematists thrived during the early days of the Revolution) and the *neue Sachlichkeit* (his terminology) of the materials they used and methods of assembly they employed. In his view with the establishment of political power (when the last insurrections against Bolshevism petered out), the *raison d'être* for such manifestations of art evaporated. For Lubetkin, the answer lay in the sheer scarcity of everything in those days, giving a twist of wire, even a crumpled sheet of paper a face value out of all proportion to its true worth. According to him, to elevate such rubbish to the position of a work of art, was to perform a visual platitude. From exhibiting debris as art, it was a short step to establish a mystique where every object in the hands of an artist became precious.

Lubetkin's theory that the end of the first revolutionary phase meant death to the Constructivists is hard to press to its ultimate conclusions. These would effectively outlaw the continuance of the cultural eccentricity of Dada, of papier collé and collage, and of the experiments in Merzism by Kurt Schwitters. Collectively and independently, all these "constructivist" elements have survived in the work of many progressive artists working today. Dada continued after its transplantation from Zurich, Schwitters went on to fabricate his irreverent Merz pictures from garbage long after the upheavals of the Inflation in Germany had settled down, even the recent exhibition of Modern Spanish Paintings at the Tate had a fair proportion of pictures incorporating technological scrap and fragments from the rubbish heap. Spain hardly qualifies as a revolutionary country in any case!

Support for John Berger's contention that there is a hard core of indestructible, sincere Modern Russian Art of whose existence we know little and of whose strength we know less, has come from the Grosvenor Gallery which has been showing Russian paintings, either from the days before the Soviet clamp-down, or examples taken from the period since (notably, Anatoli Kaplan, who has come through the era of political direction apparently unscathed with a great corpus of lithographs shewing him to be not only a great chronicler of traditional Jewry but also an innovator of the first order in the field of experimental graphic work).

The Grosvenor Gallery has not been alone in its espousal of the Russians. In 1959, the LCC's Whitechapel Gallery held an authoritative retrospective exhibition of Kasimir Malevitch (1878-1935), the founder of Suprematism. Last year saw the Arts Council's dual exhibition of Michel Larionov (Rayonism) and his lifelong companion Natalia Goncharova. A big exhibition of Archipenko's sculpture is due at Matthiesens later this year. All four artists belong to the early revolutionary period of Russian Art.

The question that can be legitimately asked is: Why this rekindled interest in the neglected pioneers of Russian Modern Art after such a

long period in the wilderness, where it has been unacceptable in their native land, unappreciated in the West?

In the Free World enthusiasm has been limited to Russians like Chagall and Kandinsky for nearly three decades. As emigrés, both recreated their reputations outside Russia. Chagall, the one-time Director of the Academy of Fine Arts at Vitebsk under the early revolutionary administration, had to fly from the vilification of the obtuse philistines who regained power after 1922. He went first to Germany, then to Paris, in wartime to the USA, and is now settled in the South of France. Kandinsky also left for Germany, and was later able to bring his abstract art to its final fruition in Paris. Each was able to gain the eye of the West. Archipenko, the cubist sculptor, settled in Hollywood, and has left a curious trail of sculptural portraits of the ciné-world's magnates as a testimony. Certainly, Larionov and Goncharova, recruited by Diaghilev's Ballet, were well known as costume and décor artists. Until recently the theatrical work that they did for the great impresario tended to overshadow their painting, so that last year's retrospective exhibition in St James' Square was for many people a first introduction to their pictures. Nevertheless, just so that the British public should not forget the strong link between the pair and Diaghilev, the Brook Street Gallery put on a parallel show of their theatre designs.

The Grosvenor Gallery has shown what must be one of the most unusual displays of Russian art in London to date. The exhibition included not only Kandinsky, Chagall, Archipenko, Larionov and Goncharova, but Malevitch, El Lissitzky and Tatlin as well.

Tatlin's contribution, a constructivist water-colour portrait, is the first example to be seen from his hand in the West for a very long time. The collection has therefore been intensely interesting to art historians and those in search of the controversial and unusual. It must obviously be seen in context with the Bauhaus Exhibition at the Marlborough Gallery, since the Bauhaus at Weimar and Dessau was joined by a number of artists and lecturers, including Kandinsky and Lubetkin, after they left the Soviet Union.

Does this reassessment of the Russians (from the period between 1902 and 1922) only reflect the cyclic change of fashion or has the revival a more practical impetus?

Since the New Economic Policy (NEP) campaigned against the revolutionary artists at the beginning of the twenties, and replaced them with "reactionary realists", the Soviet State—first by giving patronage to the usurpers and later by persecuting the revolutionaries—has made itself supreme arbiter of taste. *Such Cultural Dictatorship can be translated as weakness*, an attempt to curb individualism in case this should lead to deviationism or worse. Under Lenin and Stalin this deplorable policy was understandable in terms of brute control of every aspect of the citizen's life by the State. Thus far, since Stalin's death, internal strife has preserved a reactionary attitude to the arts. Now the situation may be changing. The true *degel*, statements about which have been made so often—and so prematurely—may at last be imminent. Some believe so. They look

forward to liberalising influences receiving official blessing. The incalculable Nikita Khrushchev could easily become the instrument of such a policy switch, a change which could reinstate the Constructivists and the Suprematists. The vast State Collections, known to contain locked caches of works by the wildest of Russia's experimentalists whose blacklist treasures few but curators have seen for decades, will once more be put on public view, a step which would immediately arouse international interest.

The exhibitions we have seen in London during the past three years would then have served merely as an appetiser, a sort of softening-up process to ensure we are in a receptive mood when the Soviets feel prepared to resuscitate the tarnished reputations of disgraced artists like Malevich, Lissitzky, Rodchenko and Larionov.

Whether this theory is far-fetched or not, it is worth re-examining these painters to see what position they should hold in the hierarchy of modern art.

Malevich, who admired Futurism, issued manifestos calling for cultural reform (in one, he suggested that all academicians should be put on national assistance). He purged his works of all natural associations, preferring (prophetically?) to call them *Rockets* and *Suprematisms*. His clean abstractions are the natural antecedents of Mondrian and the Dutch Plasticists of *de Stijl*. Their logical conclusion is in the "White on White" series.

Viewed across the years, Malevich's Suprematist compositions have more than historical fascination. His white-hot enthusiasm still communicates itself. He was, after all, attempting to create a new world. This ambition was at variance with the aims of Tatlin, the Constructivist, who believed that all creative effort should be placed at the service of technology. Tatlin is best known for his project, the monument to the Third International, a kind of modern tower of Babel set to the thread of a screw. His small "wall constructions" have probably disappeared, although many of the larger ones are under lock and key in the Soviet Union. Tatlin is an originator. His continued tradition is seen in the works of the brothers Naum Gabo and Antoine Pevsner (working in the West), and the late Ladislav Moholy-Nagy. Lack of actual examples—even photographs of his works are difficult to find—makes it difficult for those without long memories and who live outside Russia to make an aesthetic judgment upon his contribution. He has become a legend based on a few surviving fragments.

Another artist, virtually unknown and unseen here, is Rodchenko (the Non-Objectivist), whose "Black on Black" was an answer to Malevich's White paintings. Despite differences on principles, Malevich and Rodchenko had much in common. Both worked in a non-figurative idiom, but on visual evidence Malevich appears the stronger of the two. If the present taste trend continues, it should not be long before Rodchenko is shown in London.

El Lissitzky was neither a stay-at-home nor an emigré. He managed—for a time at least—to make the best of both worlds. His *prooun* paintings

have an aerial quality missing from the Suprematisms of Malevich. He was also an ingenious designer of architectural projects. One of these, a rostrum that swings like an angle-poise lamp over the auditorium, is a masterpiece of invention. So far as one can judge from photographs, its purpose was to house political speakers at rallies who, safe in this airborne cabin, could be sent swinging across their audiences, exhorting them to greater and greater efforts. Its use would unquestionably increase the dramatic possibilities of such occasions. In his architectural and quasi-architectural designs Lissitzky draws closer to Malevich, who was fascinated by the link (later exploited by Mies van der Rohe and Theo van Doesburg) between Suprematism and Constructivism and modern architecture.

The case of Larionov is different. Some of his drawings (1907 and 1908) show that he was among the earliest pure abstractionists before his adherence to Rayonism (a sort of Cubism blended with Delaunay's Instantanéisme). He also experimented with different expressionist styles, some of which were not far divorced from Malevich in his pre-Suprematist days. Larionov was one of the most original of the group, in a mixed company harbouring more than one artist of greater than local interest.

The appearance of these artists upon the world scene after so long an absence hints at organised promotion. The public's attention is being directed. It remains to be seen whether the entrepreneurs have made a wise choice.

BILAINKIN ON BOURGUIBA—*Concluded from Page 90*

when the French killings in 1961 shamed their Algerian record. Was he then to remain silent, as in 1881, submissive, craven—when expecting talks on the agreed stages for withdrawal he saw, and his people saw, extension of the big bombers' runway by the common road? Since Bizerta the Arab world has closed some ranks, and President Nasser has sent one of his most distinguished ambassadors to open the Mission in Tunis. The entire white world owes a debt to Africa, notably to Tunisia, too immense to be repaid in our time. We must, unasked, send technicians, tractors, food, seeds, lorries and tourists. It is five to midnight.

NOTE—*Finance Minister Ben Salah hopes that, by 1973, his 10-year Plan will raise the average income p a from £14-£28 to £50*

HISTORY—

HISTORIAN OF GREECE⁺

G P GOOCH

GROTE lives by his *History of Greece*, one of the greatest historical works of the nineteenth century. But he was much more than a historian. He was one of the most many-sided men of his time—banker, politician, philosopher, and one of the leading figures in the social life of his generation. He was, moreover, a singularly noble character; respected and beloved by many who knew him well. His biography was written by his wife in 1873, shortly after his death, after nearly half a century of loving comradeship. "It will always be worth living to be loved by such a being," was her testimony during their partnership. "He is a combination of intellectual elevation, genius and lamb-like gentleness and simplicity."

Grote's grandfather migrated from Germany to England in the middle of the eighteenth century and founded a bank in the City which quickly became a source of wealth and influence. His son carried on the business, and his grandson, the historian, after a schooling at Charterhouse, was sent into the family bank instead of Oxford and Cambridge. It proved no hardship, for what he learned at first hand about finance, industry and administration in these early years was an excellent preparation for his political career. His interests, however, ranged far beyond the sphere of public affairs, and he found just what he wanted in the Utilitarianism of Bentham and James Mill which dominated English thought after the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815.

The greatest happiness of the greatest number, Bentham's dynamic formula, inspired the so-called Philosophic Radicals who played an insignificant part in the Parliaments of the thirties after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Grote had long advocated a wide extension of the franchise, and on entering the House of Commons in 1832 he found himself well to the left of the Whig majority, which was content with the cautious attitude of Grey and his successor, Melbourne. Mr Clarke provides an excellent account of Grote's activity in Parliament. For the first few years, some observers believed that he might become the leader of a group of Philosophic Radicals who might ultimately challenge the orthodox Whigs, for he frequently intervened in debates on foreign as well as domestic topics. No one laboured more actively than he for the introduction of the secret ballot, for he argued that nothing else could ensure the complete freedom of the voter which democratic principles proclaimed. The reform, however, had to wait forty years. When Melbourne succeeded Grey as Prime Minister, the slow pace of the Whigs became even slower, and some observers, Grote among them, concluded that there was little difference between him and Peel. Moreover, the little band of Philosophic Radicals in the House exerted less and less influence. He did not stand

⁺ *George Grote* M. L. Clarke University of London, Athlone Press 35s

in the election of 1841, which brought the Tories under Peel to power

Grote had never given the whole of his mind either to business or to politics, for he had always been an omnivorous reader and felt a special interest in ancient Greece and Rome. In the early 'twenties he conceived the idea of writing a history of Greece, and he had written a fairly detailed survey before his entry into political life interrupted his historical labours for a decade. Fundamentally, as his wife and his intimate friends had come to realise, he was less a man of action than a scholar. Yet his years in Parliament were by no means without value for the historian, for there he learned how democracy, which is sometimes defined as government by discussion, carries on its business.

An excellent chapter summarises the merits and defects of Grote as a recorder and interpreter. His elimination of legendary versions of early centuries did for Greece what Niebuhr had done for Rome, his contention that the *Iliad* as we possess it was an expansion of an early oral *Achilles* anticipated the prevailing view in our own day. Some conservative readers complained that the *Philosophic Radical* had painted too rosy a picture of Athenian democracy and had found a good word for the demagogue Cleon and the Sophists. In the cooler atmosphere of a century later we are inclined to agree with the criticism. Moreover, slavery and helotry as elements in the Athenian City State receive too little attention. A graver charge is that he was unfair to the Macedonians, Philip and Alexander, the latter "great" in nothing except as military commander. Their unforgivable sin, in the eyes of the historian, is to have snuffed out the brightest light in the ancient world.

The most competent judge of the *History of Greece* among Grote's contemporaries was Thirlwall, author of the first scholarly survey of the ancient Greek world which had appeared a few years before. His book was largely superseded by a more readable narrative by a man who knew political life at first hand. Thirlwall magnanimously declared that his own work was decisively inferior. Both were first-class scholars, but there is far more vitality in the later work. Neither of these standard works is read today, for a century of scholarship has witnessed a considerable increase in our knowledge from archaeological discoveries and the collection of Greek inscriptions. Yet Grote's place in the annals of historiography is secure, and the growing interest in the ancient Greek world owes more to him than to any other scholar.

The *History of Greece* enjoyed a sale only less than Macaulay's *History of England*. Published between 1846 and 1856, it was repeatedly reprinted in England. In 1907 it appeared in twelve volumes in *Everyman's Library*, and an abridged version catered for busy readers in the same year. Translations appeared in French, German and Italian.

Grote was no less interested in Greek philosophy than in Greek politics. His voluminous masterpiece was followed by substantial treatises on Plato and Aristotle. As a young man under thirty he had published under a *nom de plume* a work entitled *Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind*. Like all the captains of the

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"WILKES AND LIBERTY"*

DAVID GOLDBLATT

HISTORY has innumerable facets, and each, as exposed, lets the eye and interest rest where they most please. Just such an opportunity lies in the recent publication of *Wilkes and Liberty*, by George Rudé, and *Portrait of a Patriot*, by Charles Chevenix Trench. Scholar and soldier have contrived to present and attract according to taste. Rudé threads through a maze, correct and unbending, statistic and fact tabulated, to bring within reasonable compass the area of research and the time to be spent by the student. The reader need no longer be in doubt as to the constituents of the eighteenth century mob, its spontaneity, seeming or real, its managed use, its influence upon that sector which governs the populace in a context of freedom, celebrated more in speech and song than realised in experience. The catalogue of the same grievances, repeated through centuries in Charter, Petition, Remonstrance and Bill, bears witness to ingenuity practised from generation to generation in yielding little but re-snatching much in the fight for a niche at the top. In this endless game the Wilkes affair is yet another incident in the price to be paid for self-expression. If history has a lesson, it is that life is what we make it and a living death when we allow others to make it for us.

Rudé has no leaning towards colour, a little goes an overlong way. Thirty pages of appendices and bibliography prove his industry. The entire 228 pages are crammed with data, a tribute to scholarship unlikely to raise a spark of interest outside a select band, though it will earn appreciation and gratitude from others of his trade whom Rudé has spared a mighty burden of dull grind.

Rudé has taken pains to play down the less savoury side of his hero. The title-page leaves us in no doubt. He offers a social study of 1763-1774, of Wilkes and Liberty, not an incursion into Wilkes' love-life. That is left to another who, in delineating the *Portrait of a Patriot*, has used his pen with a pretty Hogarthian touch, well-spiced with Rabelais. He pumps life into both Wilkes and the Mob. Not to be outdone, he also supplies thirty pages of appendices and reference, but he has delved mainly in another area.

John Wilkes was coupled with Liberty in the famous slogan. He capitalised it in his first appearance on May 6, 1763, on trial at Westminster Hall. The Court, outraged by his attacks which culminated in the scarring and repulsive article in No. 45 of the *North Briton*, issued a general warrant for his arrest among a number believed to have taken part in the publication. The King and his Ministers were resolved to rid themselves of this pestilent Member of the Commons and suppress his effusions. "My Lords," declaimed Wilkes, "the liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and, what touches me more sensibly, that of all middling and inferior set of

* *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763-1774*, George Rudé, Oxford University Press, 30s. *Portrait of a Patriot: A Biography of John Wilkes*, Charles Chevenix Trench, Blackwood, 30s.

people who most stand in need of protection, is in my case this day to be finally decided upon a question of such importance as to determine whether English Liberty shall be a reality or a shadow" No passage could better illustrate the ability of the accused to stand up to and, indeed, out-manceuvre even the Head of State Before and since similar rhetoric has poured forth, but seldom by a person whose mode of living was so divorced from the decencies which should have marched with his protest His was a boisterous age and loose, but plastered-over with fine manners and a rich culture among those who had discovered how to prise open that succulent oyster, the underdeveloped world, but even in such society his excesses were outstanding The printing press afforded him a new and mighty medium to reach the masses in double quick time Pamphlet and lampoon could be read to vast, if illiterate, audiences Every fresh effusion got its hearing to a chorus of belch and hiccup in the clutter of public houses and drinking booths which catered for a sweating horde, overworked and underpaid Thus grievances welled up and the aggrieved chanced upon a leader with liberty as the watchword

John Wilkes was a writer with a facile pen and a mordant wit, a man born in comfortable circumstances with a penchant for good living and bad company, quick with the common touch and a boon companion in all circles, adroit, cunning, and with a nose to smell out and avoid trouble Add the ambition to go far, even to the top, grafted on to a lack of scruple, a bold front and cool courage, the power to heckle and quieten the heckler, the presence to hold an audience, despite an undistinguished delivery, and confidence that no situation was beyond his ability to manage He bore the acclaim of the mob and the persecution of the Court with equal sangfroid and turned both to his advantage His first battle centred on Parliamentary immunity Chief Justice Pratt, against royal desire, if not command, acquitted Wilkes as protected by his privilege as a Member of the House of Commons, while ignoring the thorny problem of the questionable legality of a general warrant by which the liberty of an Englishman might be "sporting away with impunity" Then on "Wilkes and Liberty" was to be the battle cry for a decade in the fight against the Establishment It rang well wherever the disgruntled forgathered At the hustings the cry served to deter all but the boldest and ensured the re-election of Wilkes to the Commons, despite the King's Friends and others whom he genuinely appalled Finally, this round was won by default and Wilkes took his seat, soon to lapse into respectable obscurity in the Chamber, a back-bencher who seldom spoke and then to little purpose His adherents sank back in disappointment His enemies rejoiced as their fears receded His loss of fervour was well rewarded, as the cry of Wilkes and Liberty vanished He was installed as London's Lord Mayor and later Chamberlain of the City at £1,500 annually—no mean salary In his old age he was small beer in a land torn with anxiety over the Revolution

* In Rudé's analysis we are given a break-up of Wilke's support which exposes the radical changes necessary to bring England within hailing distance of democracy England had progressed little beyond Athens with

its vast base of slave labour overlaid by a wedge of privileged Freedom was a mockery where the majority could but resort to mob tactics to impress their masters buttressed by wealth and protected by soldiery Franchise was thinly spread and patchy and Parliament an instrument not so much to govern as to impose the will of those on high Its occasional restiveness was proof of its impotence against the Crown and its Ministers and the corruption which grew out of Court appointment and favour and bribery

The Wilkes episode was concerned with four vital points first, to assert the right to publish criticism of the government from the King to his meanest servant, secondly, to reform the unbalanced franchise, thirdly, to deny the right of Parliament to reject the decision of the voters at an election, lastly, to readjust relations between Crown, Cabinet and Parliament All these four matters were intertwined

The Press speedily reached out and down to every class It could inform and inflame It could create opinion, encourage protest and inspire action, even unto violence There were no limits to its vulgarity and intrusions into private life Nevertheless, the right of free expression, subject to punishment for abuse, is fundamental The struggle centred upon Wilkes, a character adroit enough to sail as near the wind as can be with the stamina to outlast and outwit both law and authority Through him the principle was finally conceded

Democracy, in theory, is based on the assumption that each adult has responsibility and duty to choose his governors and check policy and decision Implicit is the broadest possible franchise—to each person a vote When most are voteless, mobs are brought together to complain, to threaten, to resort to rowdyism or worse Wilkes was a constant supporter of this reform, though never averse from using the mob, giving point to the danger of restricted franchise The French Wars delayed this reform for three generations, but in the creation and growth of public opinion Wilkes played no small rôle.

The very core of the Wilkes story rests in the third point The electors of Middlesex had returned him as their member by an overwhelming majority, but he was debarred from taking his seat by the House of Commons and his main opponent, a royal nominee, was declared eligible to occupy the seat The House took its stand, under strong ministerial pressure, upon its right to expel an undesirable person The whole matter was covered by Junius in two scathing passages, addressed to Grafton, Prime Minister "But let Mr Wilkes' character be what it may the people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of a private character to establish a precedent by which public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter employ to the ruin of the best men in the Kingdom" and "The right of election is the very essence of the Constitution you have created a new one (question) in which Mr Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English Gentleman . If such a case can possibly happen once, it can happen again; it may happen always; and if 300 votes can prevail against 1,200, the same reason would equally have given Mr Luttrell his seat with ten votes

or even one" The fight went on, but the result was inevitable, King and Privilege were doomed

Lastly, in the matter of the Crown and its power to intervene in parliamentary decision by bribery in money and kind Despite all that had gone before, the Cabinet, though recruited from Parliament, were royal servants with a duty to carry out the royal pleasure by persuasion or suborning Honours, office and largesse were powerful weapons and were freely used to move difficult members into the Court circle and to ensure that the royal will was understood and satisfied The persecution and outlawry of Wilkes brought these unsavoury practices into the open and served to solidify opposition Thenceforward the tendency grew for the Cabinet to move out of the regal and into the parliamentary orbit The power of the Crown and the King's Friends waned, the process of cleansing the Throne and Parliament of corruption gained in pace and intensity The purge of political corruption was sparked off by a figure whose own life, public and private, was so repelling—a mélange of learning, effrontery and debauch, with lip service to high principles and patriotism, shameless exploitation of friends and yet a deep paternal affection for his offspring born on either side of the blanket He was an unwitting instrument in the fashioning of four pillars of the future social and political life of his country Upon that let his fame rest His misdeeds may be interred with his bones

HISTORIAN OF GREECE—*Concluded from Page 97*

Utilitarian movement, and all the Philosophic Radicals in Parliament, Grote was an avowed agnostic His historical studies confirmed his conviction that the chequered fortunes of mankind indicated no supernatural direction He was never an enthusiast, and in his later years he seemed to expect less from human nature and from the influence of institutions He remained, however, convinced that educational opportunities were essential above all in a democracy Though he never held a teaching post, he did as much for higher education as any man of his time by helping to found and to administer University College as a secular temple of learning Though he differed from his valued friend, John Stuart Mill, about the ballot, he agreed with him on the principle of equal opportunities for both sexes, and he was one of the earliest advocates of woman suffrage The remarkable wife and intellectual companion who plays a leading part in this biography was a living example of what women could do in the life of a free society The life of such a man was well worth re-telling and it has been excellently re-told

NOTE Next month Dr Gooch will write on G M Trevelyan, OM

WEST GRINSTEAD PARK HOUSE

Places can haunt us as they are haunted
 A house is more than something built,
 More than a merely functional structure,
 A house may moan, as humans moan, with guilt

This may seem a sentimental
 Fiction to the sceptical,
 But surely, every house must be
 Vivified by humanity

I have seen houses mean, slit-eyed,
 I have seen houses handsome but too cold,
 And houses puffed and pasty-faced with pride.
 This is a house that might have been absurd
 But now is beautiful now it has died

The hands of the clock are still,
 Its eyes are blind
 This house has died

Inside, a kind of life endures.
 The ticking beetle and the bat,
 Termite and tendril feed upon
 This corpse of stone
 Outside, like nerves, the ivy twists and grips,
 Faint sweetness of decay informs the air
 This house has died

Where once the glittering festival was held,
 The canded paraphernalia of the feast,
 Is dust and gradual cancer In the gloom
 The religious sun paints windows on the floor
 Where soft hands touched as slippers whispered down
 The sweep of stairs the spider slings his hammock
 Light as smoke Where shadows creep
 The solid feet of footmen thumped.
 Where birds now build and spiders spin
 Was spun a cloth of ceremonial ease.

Floors that have nourished worm and weather
 Once were smooth, dark like a midnight pool
 And on the surface floated like white petals
 In sarabards of natural elegance
 The daughters of sweet privilege
 Where now rats ruminate the maid has sighed.
 Where the worm insinuates the master's hounds lay down.

In this grave house, its own and crumbling grave,
Far more than beetle, vermin and corruption breed:
Imagination stirs and, like a plant, puts out small flowers.

And though I may discover
A curious enjoyment in this place—
That strange sharp savour of the sense of loss—
Yet still I ache upon the paradox

I do not moan that I was born too late,
Sigh for those spacious and decorous days:
That syrup-baited trap has never worked
I hate to see this house's death, yet know
That such regret is waste and, soon or late,
Every house must die, yes, every house,
And all these little cottages of flesh
The human mind must brood upon mortality.
The pathos of created objects probes
We are all children and our toys—
Castle or teddy-bear, aqueduct or rattle—
Proclaim this common infancy
As does this vast and broken toy of masonry
In which a skeleton presides,
A bird of bone, more cage than bird,
Hard emblem of my mood.

In this stone death I sense and see
The desolation that will swallow me

VERNON SCANNELL

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

VICTORIAN ENGLAND

The Making of Victorian England G Kitson Clark Methuen 30s

It is just forty years since Dean Inge in a brilliant lecture, which it is still a pleasure to read, hailed the Victorian Age as "one of the twin peaks in which English civilisation culminated" (the other being the reign of Elizabeth I). Twenty-five years ago G M Young in his "Portrait of an Age" assessed the period no less favourably, save in its final years. And since then it has been the field of much serious and detailed study which, without ignoring its bad features, has redressed the balance against the witty but superficial denigrations of the '20's when clever scholarship candidates thought they would get credit by making fun of the Albert Memorial as the symbol of an age of hypocrisy and philistine vulgarity. Their successors don't do that sort of thing, and are still less likely so to do if they, or their schoolmasters, read with care Dr Kitson Clark's Ford Lectures which have now appeared in book form.

The author is not of course giving us narrative history but is examining and assessing the various factors which went to the making of Victorian England, and more particularly the England of the third quarter of the 19th century. Many, but by no means all, of his themes are familiar, but on each one he has something fresh and stimulating to suggest, whether, to take only a few, it be Victorian "respectability" or the development of educational facilities, the effects of population increases or the religious affiliations of the Mayors of Leicester, the growth of the "professional classes" or the elimination of 2nd class railway carriages, or the contrast between the new and the old style "gentry", (and in this connexion Professor W O Aydelotte has provided an Appendix on "The Business Interests of the Gentry in the Parliament of 1841—1847"). But, as readers of his *English Inheritance* will expect Dr Kitson Clark is especially concerned to "put back religion, particularly popular religion, into the picture of 19th century England", and his chapter on this subject is the longest in the book and in many ways the most important. There is in it nothing about the Christian Socialists (perhaps too well known?) but there is interesting information about the hymns of the period and the increased number of churches and chapels.

Dr Kitson Clark is fair, and not unsympathetic, to the Nonconformists, omitting however, any mention of the Plymouth Brethren, although *Father and Son*, published in 1867, is, surely, a key document of Victorian Puritanism. And he perhaps exaggerates somewhat the effect of the Nonconformist "defection" in causing the Liberal defeat of 1874, for Gladstone himself attributed it mainly to the resentment of "the trade" against the recent licensing legislation, "we have been borne down in a torrent of gin and beer". One of Dr Kitson Clark's conclusions is "that the Christian religion coloured what many Victorians, particularly lower and middle-class Victorians, thought about everything". This is fair enough, but what about the minority who did not so think, the serious sceptics, the reluctant agnostics, whose link with Christianity was in direct and sometimes pretty tenuous? Their existence is acknowledged but their influence, which was considerable, is not assessed.

Dr Kitson Clark also treats of the relation of romantic literature, especially that of "Young Ireland", with politics and stresses the value of popular songs, melodrama and the Music Hall as evidence for the life and thought of the people. But while he refers to the novelists (Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope) he leaves out the poets whose influence, especially that of Browning and Tennyson, was of course very great. It is, indeed, a commonplace that Tennyson's poetry in general and "Maud" and "In Memoriam" in particular, expressed very clearly the mind (and

soul) of a large and influential section of the British public. Moreover, some reference might have been made to the pre-Raphaelite movement which comes right into the period and is a reflection of certain trends which should not be forgotten. But it is along these lines, and these lines only, that there seems to be somewhat of a gap, and Dr Kitson Clark may well have thought that if he had to leave out something, this was the sort of thing whose omission mattered least, as being already so familiar.

In short, the author's remarkable width of reading, his vigorous method of presentation and his thoughtful and balanced judgments have combined to produce a book which is in every respect in conformity with the exacting standards of historical writing laid down by Dr Gooch in the June number of this Review.

F. R. SALTER

BELLS AND TINSELS

The Crown and the Establishment Kingsley Martin Hutchinson 21s

Mr Kingsley Martin is a national institution—a one-man “Establishment”. Though he calls himself a Socialist, he is, in matters of civil liberty, a Liberal. At home and abroad, he can always be counted upon to rally to a libertarian cause. It is 25 years since, as an undergraduate, I delighted in his *Triumph of Lord Palmerston*, a Cobdenite appraisal of Crimean War opinion. The robustness of *The Crown and the Establishment*, the latest in his line of books, will attract, shock and captivate readers of all schools of thought. Mr Martin is in the Selden tradition. Long ago John Selden declared, “Never King dropped out of the clouds. A King is a thing men do choose for quietness’ sake, just as in a family one person is appointed to purchase the meat.” Mr Martin rather likes the Scandinavian Kings because they are crowned presidents. He deplores latter-day Victorian imperialism which made sure that so much of the work of Jeremy Bentham was left undone. The hereditary principle, though in decay, continues to pervade our institutions. It makes a laughing-stock of the representative principle. The public attitude towards monarchy is much less wholesome in 1962 than it was in 1820 or in 1870—witness the “literary” success of Cawfie. Eighty years ago, Mr Gladstone protested to Queen Victoria: “The powerful circles in which your Majesty has active or personal intercourse contain hardly any persons who understand the point of view of the majority of the electorate.” In 1962, cannot Mr Grimond and Mr Gaitskell say that too? “Monarchy”, opined Trimmer Halifax, “provides the bells and tinsels that men love.” But a classless society is about to emerge, and if the Crown conceives itself as the apex of a class-ridden order, it will perish with that order. Meanwhile the Duke of Edinburgh deserves Mr Martin’s good mark for sending Charles to Gordonstoun.

DERYCK ABEL

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VIII

The Reign of Edward VIII Robert Sencourt Antony Gibbs and Phillips 21s

Mr Robert Sencourt, the well-known biographer of Louis Napoleon, Alfonso of Spain and other celebrities, has grappled with his most challenging task in his study of the reign and personality of Edward VIII, one of the most complicated actors on the European stage of the twentieth century. The Duke and Duchess of Windsor have told their story in widely read volumes, but autobiographies, however candid, hardly ever reveal everything. The present volume is a contribution to history and a penetrating analysis of a human soul faced by unusual difficulties. Now that the whole moving drama has passed into history, and the former ruler has recently celebrated his silver wedding, it is time for the historian to step in, to utilise the mass of material that has accumulated, and to view the whole chapter of English history in its wider perspective, with greater detachment than was possible to the individuals

who played an active part at the time. The narrative is enriched by information from several well-known public figures who had once been in close contact with the ruler. The British monarchy still stands erect in a world where republics are now as numerous as they were rare at the turn of the century.

The narrative opens with a colourful sketch of the rôle and characteristics of our modern rulers from Queen Victoria onwards. High marks go to George V and George VI, both of whom played the part of constitutional monarchs to perfection. The post demands complete unselfishness, complete dedication to duty, unreserved acceptance of the doctrine that the sovereign reigns but does not govern. "I don't know what people see in me", exclaimed George V when grave illness in later life evoked striking demonstrations of affection. "I am a very ordinary fellow". He deserved the gratitude of his countrymen, and left the monarchy stronger than he found it.

Edward VIII was immensely popular throughout the Commonwealth before and for a brief period after his accession. He seemed to bring a breath of spring into the life of the mother country and the Dominions, to speak the idiom of the younger generation, to care less for tradition and formality than his predecessors. Everything appeared to forecast a long and prosperous reign. Alas! those behind the scenes were aware that there was an American lady to whom he was passionately attracted and whom, whatever the consequences, he was determined to marry. His name had been connected with other young ladies, but, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, Mrs. Simpson was the first to take a deep interest in him, not as the heir to a throne, but as a human being. Mr. Sencourt writes with sympathy and understanding of a man who had never received much love from his parents and who stood closer to the Duke of Kent than to the rest of his family. His brother George had married happily outside the royal circle.

The Royal Marriages Act of 1772, which requires the consent of the monarch to the marriage of members of the Royal Family, does not, of course, apply to the ruler himself. The snag was that Mrs. Simpson had been married twice and desired to be free to marry the man whose heart was at her feet. No one expected her to understand the strength of what is called the English tradition, but it came as a surprise to most of his subjects at home and in the Dominions that the heir preferred the more elastic standards of the New World. Rumbings of a coming storm troubled the closing phase of the reign of George V, and Queen Mary's disapproval was no secret.

The British public knew far less of what was going on than the Americans, who were fascinated by the prospect of an American lady transformed into a queen. On his accession the King felt that he was now his own master and could rely on his notorious popularity to carry him through. Comparatively few people in England read American papers, but the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury were gravely perturbed when they realised the King's inflexible determination to marry the woman of his choice as soon as she was free. The divorce proceedings of Mrs. Simpson against her husband brought the situation into public notice. At this stage, we may almost say at the eleventh hour, Baldwin decided that the time had come for him to warn the ruler that his plan of making Mrs. Simpson Queen of England would tarnish the prestige of the monarchy at home and throughout the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister's interviews with his sovereign were as much of an ordeal to him as they were a shock to the monarch. Neither Parliament nor the Church, he explained, would approve. The Opposition and the Dominions had been consulted and were equally hostile. A suggestion of a morganatic marriage was regarded by the King as something of an insult, and was unhesitatingly rejected by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet as entirely without precedent.

The decisive step was taken when the King's Private Secretary wrote to advise his master that Mrs. Simpson had better leave the country. There was only one more

card for the frustrated lover to play. Why should he not appeal direct to his people through a broadcast over the heads of his Ministers? This suggestion found no favour with the Prime Minister who announced that he would resign if his advice were ignored. Blocked at every turn, the King now announced his decision to abdicate. Mr Sencourt pays repeated tribute to the tact and consideration of the Prime Minister, who is inaccurately described in the Duke's *Memoirs* as a foe desiring to get rid of him. Next to the Duke himself no actor in this drama excites and deserves so much sympathy. The monarch found a few ardent champions, among them Sir Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook, Sir Stafford Cripps, Colonel Wedgwood and Sir Oswald Mosley. The Prime Minister had the big battalions on his side. The King's friend and legal adviser, Lord Monckton, was finally convinced that abdication was inevitable. It was a bitter pill to swallow, for Edward VIII loved the throne next to Mrs Simpson. He was only forty-two, and the prospect of life in virtual exile was bleak. No one who heard the final broadcast from Windsor Castle will ever forget it. Abdication, we were told, would be the best for us all and so it is generally agreed to have been.

That no permanent damage to the throne was done is mainly due to the steadiness of the British people and to the personal qualities of his brother and niece. The author of this fascinating but rather depressing book believes in constitutional monarchy. He closes on a happier note in a brief Epilogue with a warm tribute to our present sovereign who so completely embodies the political and personal ideals of her countrymen.

G P GOOCH

A NEW LIFE OF HENRY II

Henry II John T Appleby Bell 42s

Mr Appleby's biography of Henry II is an easy and pleasant account, unifying the various themes of the reign. The author has made an effort to keep abreast of modern publications and research, and has based his work firmly on the accounts of contemporary chroniclers. A clear picture emerges of an energetic, restless, and hot-tempered king.

Yet, was Henry II "the greatest king of the Europe of his time and one of the greatest kings that England has ever had"? Certainly, he was powerful, but his large Empire was an unwieldy and artificial creation and did not survive him. His handling of the Church and State issue, in opposition to Becket, does not reveal him as a clear-headed statesman, while his unhappy relations with his family reflect little credit on him.

Henry's main claim to greatness resides in his legal and administrative reforms. Here he showed both practical capacity and vision. The anarchy of the previous reign had resulted in many forcible seizures of land. Henry instituted three possessory assizes which provided a rapid means of dealing with disputes arising from such cases. These assizes were concerned to answer a specific question of fact, as, e.g., whether A had forcibly dispossessed B. They were not concerned with ultimate proprietary rights. This was settled by a solemn and lengthy procedure initiated by the writ of right. Such separation of possessive from proprietary right had its dangers. It can be argued that Henry realised this, and that "mixed" actions were, in consequence, introduced by him.

It is this, together with the use of juries to decide the facts of the matter in the possessory assizes, and to accuse offenders in criminal cases, the experiments with taxation, and the development of the Exchequer, that constitutes the impressive achievement of Henry II and his advisers. In this field, however, Mr Appleby's study lacks depth. Relying on Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, it has ignored a great deal of work amplifying, and in some cases, challenging their conclusions. At the same time, no attempt is made to trace the sources of Henry's

domestic policies, and the incorrect impression that he created legal and administrative reforms *ex nihilo* is left. It is also surprising to find no reference to, or use of, the "Dialogue of the Exchequer".

CORAL WICKS

ARNOLD THE POET

Arnold the Poet Henry Charles Duffin Bowes and Bowes 21s

The literary preferences of the author of this welcome reappraisal of Matthew Arnold's poetry are clear from his own published works—studies of Thomas Hardy, Browning, Wordsworth, de la Mare and Charles Morgan, all reflective writers and deeply concerned with form. Sir Harold Nicolson, who did so much to restore Tennyson's poetic standing, said recently in an interview, "I think Matthew Arnold is going to be better thought of than he is today." I agree, and Mr Duffin's book will help to ensure this.

The author of *The Scholar Gipsy* was not so far removed from life and its concerns as most of his poetry suggests. For thirty-five years he was an Inspector of Schools—working regularly and tirelessly in a round of travelling, paper-marking, lecturing, interviewing—and making time to write such famous critical works as *Literature and Dogma*, *Culture and Anarchy*, and *Essays in Criticism*, besides numerous educational and theological books and pamphlets, apart from an enviable output of poetry, the titles of which used to be part of the mind-furnishings of the well-read man. Yet the image that has come to our present generation is of a stern conformist, hair parted in the middle and with muttonchop whiskers, carrying on the didactic tradition of his impressive sire, Arnold of Rugby, and with little or no sense of humour. His niece, Mrs Humphrey Ward, said it was exhilarating to be with him, but humour and the common touch were conspicuously absent from his writings. Perhaps the profession of an Inspector of Schools requires a masking of individuality, but, however that may be, the image of a cold, withdrawn and somewhat supercilious pedant persists, when the truth was that his was a soul of exquisite sensibility, endeavouring at all times to equate his rich sense of love and beauty with his Victorian conviction of duty and intellectual responsibility.

It is not generally known that Arnold, as an Oxford undergraduate, spent care-free holidays in Paris, worshipping at the shrine of that tempestuous and amoral stage genius Rachel. At twenty-five, like Wordsworth before him with Annette, he had what must be inferred to have been a thorough-paced affair with a French girl, Marguerite, met in Switzerland. Discreet echoes of this love are to be heard in his poetry, but when, four years later (when he was twenty-nine) he married and founded a family, the echoes died away. One or two passages remain to declare the emotion which supplied the inner consolation of a heart that had loved and would never forget the experience.

Only—but this is rare—
 When a beloved hand is laid in ours,
 A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast
 and that cry in *Dover Beach*. (The Buried Life)
 Ah, love, let us be true
 To one another! for the world, which seems
 To lie before us like a land of dreams,
 So various, so beautiful, so new,
 Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light

Mr Duffin rightly comments on the strange mood that denied "the very existence of love even in the very act of invoking it for himself." His book is full of searching analyses of the nature and content of Arnold's poetry, and it may well create a strong revival of interest in the work of this strange and enigmatic Victorian.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

NEW 'POPULAR JEWISH LIBRARY' SERIES

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These are four out of five titles in the third series of the Popular Jewish Library. The aim of the Library is to provide easily readable books on topics of Jewish interest to the general public. Whether this worthy ideal is possible while maintaining the high standards set presents some doubt, but the venture deserves all possible success.

Of the four books under review, *The World of the Midrash*—or the vast storehouse of Jewish folklore and parable—by Rabbi Dr Lehrman, is the most colourful. A study of the Midrash, we are told, was on the curriculum of the Babylonian academies, and to this day the student of the Midrash emerges a wiser and more complete man.

In *An Introduction to Jewish Bible Commentary*, Rabbi Bernard Casper, Dean of Students at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and formerly a Rabbi in Manchester and London, tells how the Canon of the Bible was fixed and surveys the earliest traditions and interpretations of the Scriptures and offers a brief account of the most important Jewish Bible commentators and their methods.

Judaism and Islam, by Dr Erwin I J Rosenthal, examines the impact of one great religious system and culture on another, and the extent to which each has contributed to the enrichment of human life. Dr Rosenthal also discusses their common ground in the areas of philosophy, religious doctrine, law and custom, and why and how they differ.

Finally, *The Essence of Jewish Art*, by Ernest Namenyi, debunks a 19th century notion that there is no such thing as Jewish art, that the creative genius of the Jews limited itself to poetry and perhaps to music, but not to the plastic arts.

Dr Namenyi, an eminent art historian until his death in 1958, discusses the discovery of mediaeval manuscripts barely sixty years ago and subsequent archaeological excavations which revealed a vast number of examples of Jewish art—in ancient mosaics on the floors and walls of synagogues in Israel, and in the various illuminated manuscripts and early printed books of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The World Jewish Congress should be commended for this publishing venture, but one feels that more should be done to give these series a still more popular appeal.

WILFRED ALTMAN

THE VIEWS OF ANDREW CARNEGIE

- The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* Andrew Carnegie Edited by Edward C Kirkland The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, and Oxford University Press 36s

The twelve essays now republished in this book were first assembled by the Century Company from articles which had appeared in a number of leading English and American periodicals between 1886 and 1899. In reading them at this period of time one must admire this great man of commerce who lived in a notable business generation and wrote of events as he then saw them with ideas and ideals much beyond his day and generation.

It is not to his discredit that he failed to foresee the ironies of subsequent events which the twentieth century has produced, such as the two world wars—despite

his Temple of Peace at the Hague, the collapse of the Monroe Doctrine, the decline of empires and the emergence of new nations on the African continent, America's vast commitments all over the world, continuing frustrations of international "co-operation", the rise of Soviet Russia whom America regarded at the beginning of the century as "our good friend"

Carnegie's views on labour struggles, imperialism, democracy in England and imperial federation are sensible enough for any who care to advocate them even now, but alas, the world has become too professionalized and certainly more bureaucratized to make many of his ideas feasible

Carnegie was an individualist and did not believe it was wrong to make mountains of money provided such surplus above normal personal and business needs were spent for benevolent purposes. His essay on how the surplus wealth of the individual should be employed is well worth digesting. The advocates of modern socialism might read it with profit.

Carnegie was right in his interpretation of the biblical parable of the talents as a justification for the accumulation of wealth. He did not go far wrong with his surplus wealth when he chose to establish some 2,507 libraries, among the many other benefactions which bear his name both here and in America.

JOHN W. BENSON

LONDON'S UNDERWORLD

The Future of London F. H. Wintmore London City Mission, 6 Eccleston Street, London, S W 1 4s 6d

"London", writes the Secretary of the London City Mission in the latest of his many books on our swarming capital, "is in a state of turmoil, torn asunder by strikes, unrest and widespread discontent. New prosperity has not brought deeper happiness. More leisure has not given to men the gift of tranquillity. Gambling is working havoc in the soul of London. A society is emerging which is openly pagan and defiantly opposed to keeping the Ten Commandments." Such is the depressing picture painted by a man who has given his life to the service of his fellow-citizens. That he does not despair is due to unshakeable conviction that a sovereign remedy is available in the Christian message if enough people are willing to apply it.

What do the City Missionaries do all day? They give comfort, companionship, hope, strength and very much practical and financial help. They visit hospitals, prisons, evil streets, theatres, common lodging-houses, and other unlovely places to witness for our Master and Lord. This little book is a record of a prolonged crusade by an evangelist of dedicated life. Every page is enriched by the personal experiences of the author and his colleagues. Happily the worst slums are gradually disappearing, but sin and crime are rampant, and the author believes that our moral standards are failing. In many cases a City Missionary is approached by those in sickness and sorrow, but by far the larger number of his contacts have been established by himself. He knocks at doors often needing several visits at a house before he attains entrance. What then? Here many qualifications are required, beginning with sympathy. Tact, perseverance, above all a burning sense of urgency. He has many disappointments but he also has joyful surprises. He never desponds, and his richest reward is in the transformation of a home from squalor and misery. Drink and sin. London's underworld remains a fearful sore in the age of the affluent Welfare State. Many homes are beyond its reach and can only be helped by religious influences such as the London City Mission.

G. P. GOOCH

SHORTER REVIEWS AND

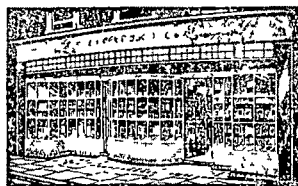
NOTICES

THE BRITISH NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE (*Johnson 21s*) "Friend or Frankenstein" is the sub-title of this highly critical survey of the National Health Service, since its inception, by a doctor and Conservative M.P., Dr Donald McL Johnson. He looks back with nostalgia to the days when the general practitioner had the incentive of private fees and a much wider range of medical responsibility. He deplores the tripartite divisions of the Service between hospital, practitioner and local authority. Under the NHS, "all roads have led to the hospital leaving only the trivia of medical work" to the general practitioner who has been reduced to "near medical orderly status". The author also argues that the service is being overwhelmed by a "Frankenstein of minor malady" which is the main cause of the enormous and increasing burden on the Exchequer and which also is detrimental to the treatment of serious disease.

Dr Johnson would reorganise the structure of the Service by creating in every county and county borough a local health board responsible for and co-ordinating hospitals and health services and dovetailing the work of general practitioners. The latter would enjoy full diagnostic facilities at health centres to distinguish major from minor illnesses and also would make item pre-service charges for work outside routine care, which would be covered by the capitation fee. This is a challenging and controversial book in which Dr Johnson is as much concerned with the people's health as with the status of the doctor. Nonetheless the NHS has been, with all its faults, remarkably successful and beneficial to the nation.

ON THE TIGER'S BACK (*Allen & Unwin 21s*). This is a significant and revealing story of disillusionment with Communism by a young Nigerian, Mr Aderogba Ajao. An ardent nationalist

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with anti-British sympathies, he first spent two years in Britain as a student when he joined the Communist Party. In 1950 he returned to Lagos to start in business. On a business trip to Hamburg in 1952, he was lured over the East German border by two self-styled business men. In spite of being virtually kidnapped, he was initially well disposed to the Russian and East German Communists and their methods. For the next six years he underwent indoctrination and technical training as a student at Bautzen, Dresden and Leipzig University. For a long while the Communists regarded him as potentially a valuable subversive leader in Nigeria. But Mr Ajao himself became steadily sickened by utterly unscrupulous propaganda, the false political teaching, the restrictions on freedom and the sinister web of intrigue constantly around him. He found significantly a widespread cynicism and

passivity towards Marxism among his fellow students and German workers. He became with them sympathetic to the risings in East Germany and Hungary and shocked, though not surprised, at the brutal suppression. He was disturbed by the crude propaganda at the 1957 Youth Festival in Moscow in which he took part. Eventually he was able to escape to West Berlin in 1958, and returned to Lagos, determined to expose the dangers of Communist influence in Nigeria, which many young Nigerians are still too naive and ignorant to suspect. "It is not their fault. They have not been able to experience Communism for themselves. I have". Nigeria must be fully independent and "uncompromising opponent of *all* forms of colonial exploitation". It is a book that deserves a very wide public both here and abroad.

WORLD CHRISTIAN HANDBOOK 1962
(*World Dominion Press* 27s 6d, \$7 50)

A wide welcome will be given to the new edition of this valuable reference book, edited by the Rev H Wakelin Coxill and Sir Kenneth Grubb. The last edition was published in 1957. The volume contains statistics on churches and church membership throughout the world, classified as closely as possible on UN geographic divisions, along with a world directory section listing 2,000 addresses of Christian organisations. In most cases the editors have been able to provide up to date figures and information, but there are inevitable gaps. For example, the 1950 figures are still the best available for China, and as to Russia, "it is impossible to obtain really reliable estimates at present". This edition has revived the practice of introductory articles. There are twelve short pieces relating to Christian problems and development in different areas of the world. This an important work, relating particularly to information upon non-Roman Catholic organisations.

ADVERTISING IN ACTION. (*Hutchinson* 30s Paper edition, 7s 6d.) This is the first of two volumes to be published for the Institute of Economic Affairs in replacement of their *Advertising in a Free Society* published in 1959. The general object of the new study is the use and place of advertising in the British economy, and in this first volume, the joint authors, Mr Ralph Harris and Mr Arthur Seldon, are concerned "to discuss how far it was possible to measure the effectiveness of advertising by its results on sales". For this purpose, they have brought together, with comments and conclusions, "recent case histories of more than 70 commodities or services" compiled with the assistance of advertising agents and the firms concerned. Although it covers a wide field, "the selection of case histories makes no claim to represent a balanced cross-section of products or of advertising methods". Nonetheless the conclusions are of great interest and usefulness. The second volume, in preparation, will deal with the wider issues of public policy and the interests of the consumer.

CASELL'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

(*Cassell Cloth*, 30s, with thumb index, 42s, half-leather with thumb index, 70s.) A revised edition of this world-famous dictionary has been ably prepared by Mr A L Hayward and Mr J J Sparkes. Its scope is indicated by its 1,360 pages containing 130,000 words and phrases, with sections devoted to the pronunciation of proper names, foreign phrases and words in common use, and abbreviations, signs and symbols. The volume also contains new and necessary terms adapted to national requirements and now part of the English-speaking vocabulary as developed in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, India and North America. The compilers have made a living dictionary for a living language.

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BARCLAYS FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS

Old men forget,
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And, alas, not only *old men*. Most of us have experienced that hollow feeling in the pit of the stomach induced by the receipt of a reminder (which may or may not be tactfully worded) that some periodical payment—such as a club subscription—is long overdue.

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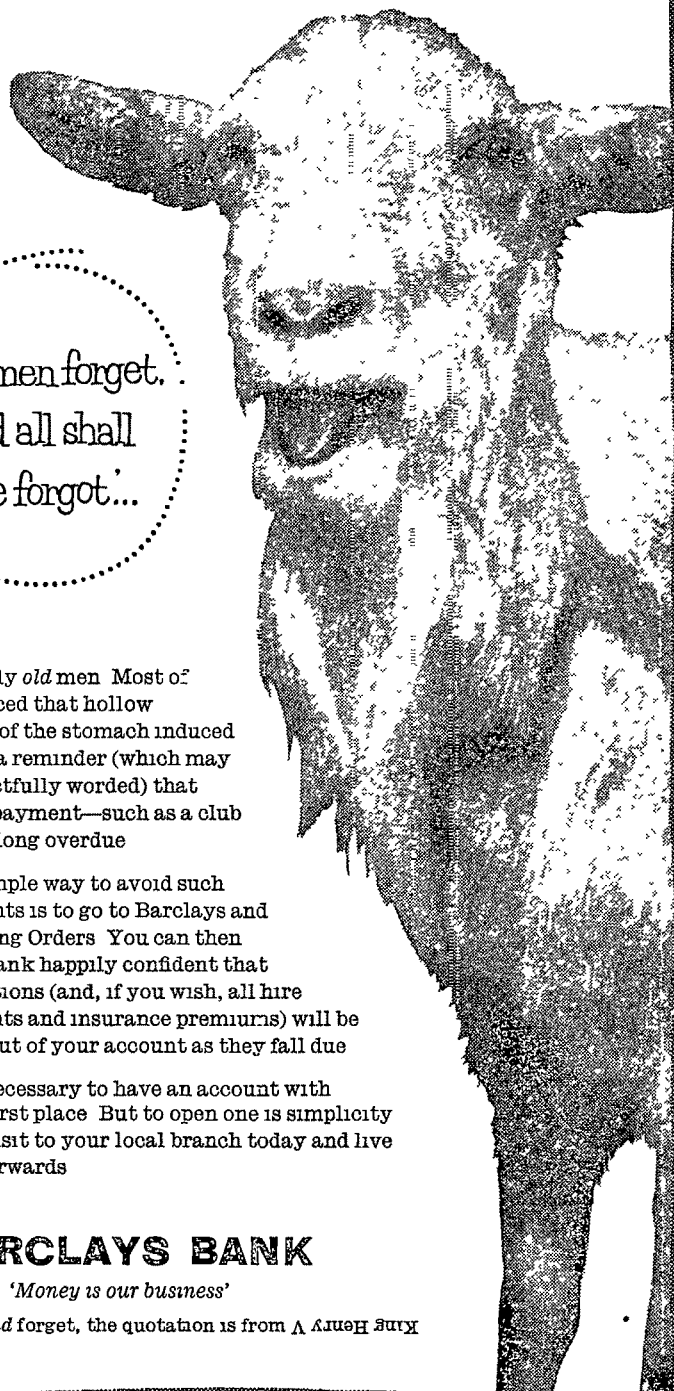
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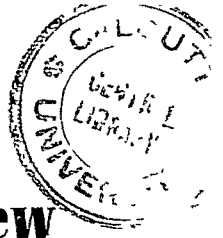
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WORLD VISTAS—

WASHINGTON TODAY

GEORGE SOLOVEYTCHIK

IT is by now well known that the impact the Kennedys made on the whole nation, but especially on Washington, as soon as they entered the White House on January 20, 1961, was immediate and enormous. Opinion polls show that the popularity of the "first family", though naturally no longer at its peak, continues to be extremely high and that this has nothing to do with the successes or failures of President Kennedy's Administration at home or abroad. Yet the political and social climate of Washington has undergone not one but several changes since he took office. There is now much criticism of the Kennedy clan coupled with endless jokes about it.

Washington, DC, is unlike any other capital city in the world. Not only does it exist solely for, and live entirely, by politics but the American system of government makes it subject to continuous and often far-reaching adjustments and transformations. With Congressional elections every two years and Presidential every four years, this is hardly surprising. But, bearing in mind the extremely large number of posts, ranging as they do from key positions to quite minor ones, which are filled by personal Presidential appointment and are therefore inevitably of a temporary nature, and, further, a constantly growing government machine with the scores of thousands of men and women it employs, then again, bearing in mind the continuous flow of office seekers, candidates, members of the opposition, lobbyists, diplomats, special missions, official and non-official visitors, as well as the large number of international organizations which now have their headquarters in America's capital, Washington is a veritable ocean of ever-new faces.

To these must also be added the many familiar ones belonging to a curious variety of people who are permanent residents by birth, tradition (they call themselves "cliff dwellers"), occupation or choice. There is, for example, the press, American and international, radio, television, as well as innumerable men and women who cater to the needs of this large cosmopolitan city. Hotels, restaurants, shops, blocks of apartments, lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, transportation services, *et hoc genus omne*, not only constitute an integral part of Washington but are as interested in, or affected by, the world of politics as the politicians and the officials themselves.

Washingtonians, no matter whether they belong to the government or the opposition, whether they are diplomats or cab drivers, political hostesses

or the press, all have this in common, that they would give almost anything to hear a bit of news one split second before somebody else does. News, or political gossip, is Washington's staple diet. In most cases this urge to know may be just vanity or idle curiosity. But to some, a change in policy or personnel may be a matter of the utmost importance—the beginning or the end of a career, of a way of life, of a dream.

Washington's first reaction to the Kennedy family—and here it must be realized that not only the President himself but his wife and little daughter as well as their infant son, all of whom are non-stop front-page news, play a big part in projecting a lively nationwide picture of zest for life and truly amazing physical endurance—was that of a long-sealed bottle of which the cork had suddenly been pulled out. Everything seemed to change its character virtually overnight, and the whole town promptly blossomed forth with new life.

The somewhat stale and colourless government departments acquired a dynamic quality. The President's "new frontiersmen", both on his personal staff and in many key positions, created the illusion of a certain resemblance with the early Roosevelt days with all their much-advertised ideas and activities. In addition to the newcomers, many leading figures of the Roosevelt and Truman era reappeared on the public scene as "elder statesmen", "advisers" or "experts" in charge of special projects.

In the course of 1961 and early 1962, much of this has changed. With the exception of Averell Harriman (who has accepted the relatively modest position of an Assistant Secretary at the Department of State), most of the old-timers have withdrawn. The "new frontiersmen", for their part, have lost much of their zest, some of their illusions and also some of their much over-estimated influence. It is by no means a coincidence that Professor W. W. Rostow, who started on the President's personal staff, has been transferred to the Department of State as Counsellor and Chief Planner, thus having to work under and through the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. The truth is that, although the President likes to discuss his problems with many different people, both in official and in private positions, and works in close co-operation with his Cabinet, he is a man who makes up his own mind and takes his own decisions. The Cabinet includes many able men of great knowledge and drive, the two most outstanding perhaps being Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defence, and Mr. Goldberg, Secretary of Labour. But there is no doubt whatever in Washington as to the fact that the President is "Boss" and that he is running his own show on what can only be described as "middle of the road" lines.

The Cuban fiasco, which happened early in his presidency, Laos, Vietnam, Berlin, disarmament, testing and, generally speaking, the international situation have taught him many a bitter lesson. Chronic unemployment at home, despite general prosperity, the continuous balance-of-payments crisis, coupled with the outflow of gold, social welfare, race relations; "medicare" and the school bill; the battle for a more liberal trade policy, and now the Wall Street shakeout constitute some of his main domestic problems. Finally it should be borne in mind that there will be

Congressional elections in November and that therefore electoral considerations must be weighing heavily on his mind.

He has some very definite ideas on all these subjects and also on what the Presidency of the USA means not only to the American nation but to the world at large. Kennedy has an astonishing background of solid and highly diversified knowledge to which he adds constantly by being both a good listener and an omnivorous reader. Lucid and articulate, he writes and speaks well. He has matured a great deal and the over-confident, often rather vague, attitude to world affairs has gone. He knows that he is up against tough problems both at home and abroad, and he is aware of the weight of responsibilities he has to shoulder. At his

press conferences he reveals both competence and adroitness, showing an impressive memory for facts, names and faces.

The very nature of these conferences, or his general relations with the press, can serve as a striking illustration of the changes that have taken place in Washington in our own age. Some fifty, or occasionally more, press people came to the press conferences of President Roosevelt which were still held in his office at the White House and which bore a sufficiently intimate character to permit the President to speak "off the record" or to crack a joke or to tell a story if he wanted to. He had his friends, critics and enemies among the correspondents, the whole affair being a very lively battle of wits. Under Truman the press conferences acquired a new importance. The number of attending domestic and foreign correspondents, cameramen, television experts, etc., doubled and it became necessary to move the whole business into a large room with a gallery in the old State Department building next door to the White House. But there still remained a close human and often very warm relationship between the President and the press, even if this now included a few "professional tormentors" who made a point of being personally aggressive. Much the same situation prevailed under Eisenhower, who, however, never managed to establish a really cordial relationship with newspapermen or women.

Now, however, under Kennedy, the picture is entirely different. He holds

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his press conferences in the huge modern auditorium of the new State Department building at the other end of town. This room is equipped with innumerable technical devices and when a journalist stands up to ask his question or questions, the technicians who surround the President on the rostrum train their electronic apparatus—which looks like machine guns—on the speaker to pick up his voice and carry it to the President. As to the President himself, his voice is amplified by microphones and registered on tape recorders, filmed and televised.

Not only is the intimacy of the old days gone, but the whole affair is now reminiscent of a complicated public theatrical performance. Moreover, Kennedy has many close personal friends in the press whom he knew well as a young Senator and whose friendship he continues to cultivate now. These friends can arrange in advance to ask—or not to ask—certain specific questions, thus leaving the President in complete control. Of course, Kennedy, too, has his regular tormentors who never miss a chance of being offensive. But he knows how to handle them and seldom loses his temper. His fury over the steel barons was quite exceptional and unprecedented in its violence.

President Kennedy is very accessible, not only to his American press friends, whom he often sees informally and with whom he discusses his problems at great length, but also to a number of foreign correspondents. Yet, though he likes and appreciates the press, he can get very angry with individual journalists or publications. And he makes no secret of it. Then the easy accessibility, not only to him but also to his brilliant and ever-helpful press secretary, Pierre Salinger, suddenly stops. Sometimes, after a while, the culprits are forgiven.

Salinger, who is plagued all day and all night by correspondents and cameramen who are permanently in search of Kennedy news, likes to say that "Kennedy does not need a press secretary; he is his own best public relations man." This is true. Also he is greatly helped in his public relations by Mrs. Kennedy, who has a press secretary of her own—a bright and pretty young girl by the name of Pamela Turnure. Though there are many people who think that there are too many members of the Kennedy family around, and though the candidature of brother "Teddy" (age 30) for the Senate is causing some resentment, it is now generally admitted that brother "Bobby" has turned out to be an exceedingly able Attorney General and all-round trouble-shooter for the President. He is probably the most close person to the President and the two brothers are in constant contact. This adds special importance to everything Bobby says or does. This is also why the boyish pranks at his house parties, including the famous "ducking in the pond" of fully clothed guests, attract so much adverse publicity.

Mrs. Truman and Mrs. Eisenhower had many sterling qualities which commanded the respect and affection of those who knew them. But these two admirable women, as, indeed, their husbands, came from modest simple households. Glamour, sophistication, official entertainment were not in their blood. Their previous experience was provincial and had not

prepared them for the functions they had to assume when they came to Washington

In these circumstances a substantial part of the capital's social life found other outlets. This is when and this is why much of the grand scale entertainment was done by such famous hostesses as Mrs Perle Mesta and Mrs Gwen Cafritz, while the really exclusive select political "salons" belonged to Mrs Beale, Mrs Bliss and Mrs Bacon. These three outstanding ladies, of whom only Mrs Bacon is still active, replaced quantity by quality, and to be asked to one of their houses was the highest mark of distinction in Washington.

Both President and Mrs Kennedy have a background of wealth, sophisticated education and cosmopolitan life. They can do all the entertainment they want, big and small, without any outside help. The days of the hostesses are over. It is by no means a coincidence that Mrs Mesta has sold her large Washington house to Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson and has moved into an apartment.

Emphasis on art and culture is another characteristic of the present White House residents. The great national poet, Robert Frost, was invited to take part in Kennedy's inauguration ceremony and remains close to the President. Artists like Pablo Casals, Igor Stravinsky, and the young coloured mezzo soprano from St. Louis, Grace Bumbry, have been guests of the President and the First Lady. What Mrs Kennedy has done in transforming the White House from a stuffy old official residence into a beautiful mansion full of invaluable period furniture and pictures is now well known through her televised tour of the House.

To be sure, Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt was no less aristocratic, cultured and sophisticated than Mrs Kennedy. But her main interests were in political and social affairs. Owing to the infirmity of her husband, many extra duties devolved on the First Lady which left her relatively little time to concentrate on the niceties of life. Moreover, the Roosevelts had moved into the White House at the time of the great depression which was followed by the war. This was hardly the time for lavish entertainment. Yet FDR loved to play host to foreign royalty and aristocracy, and did this extremely well.

Washington now has over 100 embassies and legations. Some of the leading members of the Diplomatic Corps play a very active part in the life of the capital, and a few of them are close to the Kennedy family circle. Diplomatic cocktail parties and dinners are still an integral part of Washington's daily life, and it is on those occasions that the eager Washingtonians try to pick up news items and well-informed gossip. But a substantial proportion of the foreign embassies and legations now belongs to the new States of Asia and Africa.

The presence of so large a number of coloured, and especially black, diplomats in Washington poses a most embarrassing problem to the Administration. With rare exceptions, landlords will neither sell nor rent residences to them. The leading Clubs do not admit them as members or guests. Some schools refuse to accept their children. These diplomats have to endure many other indignities of racial discrimination. There is

a constant danger of incidents, and they do occur frequently.

While the Department of State is doing all it can to ease this situation by applying persuasion and even threats to those Washingtonians who make the life of the coloured diplomats so unpleasant, it has not so far been able to achieve much. Important persons have resigned from their famous Clubs as a protest against the barring of Negroes—no matter how distinguished these may be. This has had no effect at all.

The problem is rendered even more complicated by the fact that over 50 per cent of Washington's own population is now Negro. Masses of American coloured men and women are employed by the Government—not always in the lowest jobs, as used to be the case. Indeed, some of them are now holding very important posts. Many others work in offices, shops, hotels, restaurants, drive cabs and buses, in fact engage in every kind of activity. Nevertheless, Washington remains largely segregated and the bulk of these coloured citizens still live in depressing ghettos of their own. This is no easy matter for the President and his Administration, who take the question of Civil Rights seriously and are fighting racial prejudice as best they can. They also find the situation a great handicap in America's foreign relations and fully realize that this offers an easy target to Communist propaganda.

Thus, after the early months of Kennedy's Washington, when enthusiasm and vitality seemed to be the main characteristics of the city, there has come a period of sobering-up and disillusion. But this has not led to frustration. On the contrary, it has brought about a better grasp of problems and a more mature approach to domestic and foreign affairs alike. Yet there are also anger, disappointment and a certain amount of indecisiveness.

In the centre of the great American scene, and thus of Washington, stands the First Family which sets the fashion in everything—from political thinking and administrative practices to coiffures, clothes and artistic taste. With all its continuous changes, Washington—the capital of the Free World—remains a fascinating place.

BERLIN IN GEOPOLITICS

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ALTHOUGH the Berlin problem has been bothering the Western Allies ever since 1945, it had become, by 1962, the world's No. 2 danger spot (after Laos¹). There had been the blockade in 1948; there is the wall of 1962. The Berlin crisis is, today, a permanent feature facing world diplomacy which identifies certain stock responses to the problem, featuring alerted troops, tense borders featuring occasional shootings, and numerous nuclear and other threats by Khrushchev.

In the background is the exposed Allied position in West Berlin, 110 miles inside Communist East Germany. By pinpricks and pressures, Premier Khrushchev has created general war scares, has obtained an invitation to visit the United States, and has involved the West periodically in negotiations, talks and diplomatic "probes" at various levels. The "hot" and "cold" approaches apparently have one aim: not so much to change the city's status as to undermine the Western Alliance. Berlin provides a unique wedge for dividing the Allies, in particular, for isolating Bonn with its direct interest in German reunification, from London and Washington.

What is the background of these troubles? How did it happen that the US agreed to the agreements which eventually culminated in the present explosive situation? Why did not the US Army take Berlin in 1945? Or break the 1958 blockade by force? Or knock down the Berlin wall in recent months?

The historical answers can be found in the complicated diplomatic and military policies of Washington and its Allies during World War II and thereafter.

It is important to note that, contrary to the popular belief, the agreement on Berlin was not reached at Potsdam (the Potsdam Agreement barely mentions the word Berlin), but in September and November, 1944. It had been formally approved by the Allied Powers before the Yalta Conference assembled early in 1945. There had been relatively little difficulty in reaching the agreement, although the territory assigned to the USSR brought Soviet Russia to within 100 miles of the Rhine.²

In more detail, wartime agreements provided for occupation of Berlin by the forces of the major Allies, with its government in the hands of a *Kommandatura* of representatives of the commanders-in-chief.

On September 12, 1944, Agreement on the Zones of Occupation in Germany and the Sectors in Greater Berlin was reached in the European Advisory Committee comprising the United Kingdom, the United States

¹ Vide articles by the present writer "Laos in Geopolitics", *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, May, 1961, "Vietnam in Geopolitics", *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, August, 1961, and "Thailand in Geopolitics", *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, August, 1962.

² For an excellent summary of the diplomatic negotiations, see "Berlin Pressure Point", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 29, March 12, 1962 (University of Sydney).

and the USSR. This was subsequently amended to provide a French sector in Berlin, formally established the right of the Western Powers to maintain forces in what has become West Berlin, and was to carry with it the right of access to the sectors. It was reaffirmed in the Four Power Agreement (of Foreign Ministers) on June 20, 1949. There are no grounds whatever for the suggestion that the West is in Berlin by courtesy of the Soviet Union, nor for the argument that West Berlin is situated in the territory of the Soviet Zone of Occupation and consequently in that of the German Democratic Republic (DDR). The legal basis of the Allied presence is unimpeachable. In wartime conferences the Soviets had repeatedly insisted that the presence of Western forces "of course" carried with it all the necessary rights of access. The Soviet challenge that the passing years have rendered the original occupation rights obsolete is more than questionable.

Above all, the troubles mirror now the failure of the Western Allies to consider the ultimate political, military and strategic consequences of the original agreements. (In fact, so ingrained was the idea that military considerations were uppermost during World War II that General Omar N. Bradley could write in reference to British and American views "As soldiers we looked naively on this British inclination to complicate the war with political foresight and non-military objectives." *A Soldier's Story*, Holt, New York, 1951.) And during the period of occupation, the State Department showed considerable reluctance to relieve the army of the overall management of occupation affairs in Germany.

Historically, Berlin was an island township of fishermen set amidst the forests, swamps and lakes of Brandenburg in the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century, the Electors of Brandenburg chose Berlin as their capital, since it occupied a central position in their dominions. The town is, indeed, halfway between the Elbe and the Oder.

The city developed as the capital of Prussia, very largely owing to the influx of Huguenot refugees who, by 1700, formed a third of the population. When the city was raised to the position of an imperial headquarters in 1871, Berlin had 800,000 inhabitants and covered an area of no more than about 22 sq. miles. But the town started spreading very rapidly, and mostly westward—and by 1914 its area was about 77 sq. miles and its population 2 million, composed very largely of immigrants from the eastern provinces (There were 75,000 Slavs.) In 1939 the city had 4 million inhabitants (73 per cent Protestants), spread over a huge area of 340 sq. miles adorned with forest-like parks and delightful lakes.

This was the *Gross Berlin* (created in 1921), the *Weltdstadt* (the Metropolis) of the Reich. In 1929 the great industries and trade were second only to those of the Ruhr and comprised 48 per cent of electrical and telephone equipment output, 23 per cent of optical instrument manufacture and 39 per cent of the clothing industry. Berlin was, then, the second inland port on the European continent. Today, one-quarter of its supplies still reach it by water.

In 1945, after the Allied bombings and invasion, Berlin stood in ruins, detached from a dead Prussia and indeed from Germany as a whole.

At the end of the war, the city was occupied by the Red Army and later administered jointly by the four Occupying Powers under the Allied *Kommandatura*. In 1948 Soviet measures forced the German administration of the city to restrict its activities to the sectors occupied by the Western Powers ("West Berlin"). For the eastern sector they set up a new governing body, or *Magistrat*, which administers this part of the town politically ("East Berlin"). From the point of view of economy, East Berlin is part of the former Soviet-occupied Zone, which calls itself the German Democratic Republic.

Under the Basic Law, West Berlin is a *Land* of the Federal Republic. Because of the Four-Power Agreements of 1945 it cannot, however, be governed through the *Bund*, and the application of the Basic Law to Berlin is still subject to certain restrictions. The West Berlin representatives in the *Bundestag* and *Bundesrat* have, therefore, no more than a consultative status.

On February 6, 1957, the *Bundestag* confirmed Berlin's status as capital of Germany. The seat of the Federal Government continues, however, to be Bonn. The special status of Berlin means that in practice neither the agreements on the termination of the Occupation régime nor the Western European Union Treaty nor the Soldiers' Law can be applied to the City, which remains under a mitigated Occupation Statute and Four-Power control, though in practice this has not been exercised for years. A guarantee by the Western Powers protects Berlin from any restriction of its freedom, but at the end of 1958, the Soviet Government proposed the setting up of a "Free City of West Berlin" in order to break down the City's connections with the West and deprive it of Allied protection.

The City Government (the Senate) consists of a Governing Lord Mayor (or *Burgomaster*), a Second *Burgomaster* and 11 Senators. The House of Representatives comprises 133 members, and all Federal laws which are intended to apply also to Berlin must specifically be approved by it. (One result of the legal assimilation of Berlin to the *Bund* is that the latter has the same obligations towards Berlin as towards any other *Land*.)

The split in the Allied co-operation can be dated from the meeting of the Allied *Kommandatura* on July 7, 1945, when the Soviet Commander in Berlin announced that Soviet provisioning of the city would soon terminate and requested that coal be imported from the Ruhr. This placed responsibility for the economy of the Western sectors on the Western powers and created the rise of Western Berlin as a separate economic area, tied to the economy of the Western Zones. This marked a decisive step in the splitting of the city, for political division to follow. The critical stages of the breakdown in Four-Power control took place at the same time as the blockade of 1948-49. By the time the blockade was lifted, and communications with the West returned to "normal", the city administration had been divided into two.

The full air-lift measures taken by the Allies have to be viewed in the framework of the reactions of the Kremlin to the changing international situation during this period. In June, 1947, the US augmented the Truman Doctrine with the Marshall Plan for European recovery; but a month

before Congress passed the Marshall Plan, the Czechoslovak Communists had seized the Government of Prague and made it a satellite of the USSR; the destruction of the independence of democratic Czechoslovakia increased the already existing tensions of the "cold war" and convinced more and more Americans of the wisdom of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The Soviets hoped, by cutting off all food and other supplies from Berlin, that they would drive the Western powers out of Berlin and thus strengthen Communism all over Germany. But the Allies introduced an "airlift"; Air Force planes flew supplies in a steady stream for 321 days. They made 277,264 flights and deposited 2½ million tons of food and coal. Finally, the USSR recognized the failure of its measures and lifted the blockade in May, 1949.

With the lifting of the blockade, a divided Berlin lay in the heart of a divided Germany and East Berlin was gradually incorporated into the emerging German Democratic Republic. The hardening of the line of division was especially noticeable after the German Federal Republic entered NATO in 1955.

Berlin, though separated from the West by 110 miles of hostile territory, through which came all but one per cent of the supplies for its 2.2 million people, had been prospering.

Then, on November 27, 1958, Khrushchev asked the Western Powers to turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city and warned Washington that should not the Western forces be withdrawn from the city, the Soviets would turn control of the land routes to Berlin over to its satellite East German Government. Early in 1959, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan flew to Moscow, and in March the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the US and the USSR met in Geneva without solving the Berlin question. Rivalry between the Soviets and the NATO countries to gain influence in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, added to the rising tensions. Believing that he could "handle" the Soviet Premier, President Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the US in September, 1959, and the only agreement reached was that the discussions would continue at a "Summit Conference" in Paris. But one of the American spies was shot down while flying over Soviet Russia, and Khrushchev, asking for apologies, wrecked the Paris Summit Conference (May, 1960) and repeated his threats of a separate peace treaty.

The successor of Eisenhower, President Kennedy, had to suffer the same bitter experiences as his predecessor; on June 4, 1961, at the Vienna "Little Summit", Khrushchev handed President Kennedy a memorandum in which he renewed his demands for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two Germanies, and threatened to make a separate treaty with East Germany and to hand over the remaining controls on access to Berlin to his East German vassals. But these threats induced the Western Powers to step up their armaments. Then, on August 12-13, the East German Government built a real "Iron Curtain" wall through the heart of Berlin, trying to stem the growing flood of refugees seeking to escape the "heaven of East Berlin". This divided the city in a manner which aimed to show that the Four-Power control had been ended and that

East Berlin had been absorbed into the German Democratic Republic (In the background were the growing internal ills of East Germany, the falling-off of industrial production, the growing shortages of consumer goods and the failure of collectivization of agriculture)

The Western reaction was mainly to build up armed forces, to test Soviet intentions by moving up reinforcements along the *Autobahn* through the German Democratic Republic, and to stress willingness to negotiate on Berlin and the wider problem of Germany as a whole. While America had been to some extent listening to fellow-ally Britain's plea for a softer line, the harassed American President had been trying to glue the Allied front together. He then decided to start the new series of US nuclear tests—tests for which Premier Khrushchev all but pushed the button by refusing, yet again, the American President's request for some system of international control over nuclear experiments.

Berlin's troubles can be explained, partly at least, in the differences between the policies of Stalin and Khrushchev. Basically, whenever there was a slackening of the Western efforts or a weakening of the alliance system, Stalin made some drastic moves which showed how necessary the American connection was for the survival of the Western world.

Khrushchev's foreign policy has been of an entirely different nature. He does not favour so much a policy of direct military aggression or of direct military threats, as one of promoting subversion of the whole non-Communist world through the impact of Soviet power and technological and economic accomplishment. But there is a special element involved in the Berlin situation which distinguishes it from the problems faced by other satellites: the open frontier of Berlin. The steady flow of refugees is certainly not promoting pro-Soviet Germany's prestige, and the very prosperity of West Berlin is a challenge to the Soviet proconsuls.

For, in spite of war damages and dismantling and its isolated position behind the Iron Curtain, in spite of the draining away of economic resources caused by the Soviet blockade (which lasted from June 1948 until May 1949), Berlin has made a successful effort to reach the level of the West German economy. Although its index of production is still less than 50 per cent of that of Western Germany, Berlin has been able to reach the same standard in both prices and production. In the period from 1950 to the middle of 1959, about 350,000 new permanent jobs were opened up in industry. (Goods produced in West Berlin are mostly marketed in West Germany, which is the principal purveyor of wares to West Berlin, which, thus, takes first place among the purchasers of West German products.)

While the basic Soviet view regarding Berlin is that the "anomaly" of West Berlin must be ended and the whole city absorbed into a permanent, separate, internationally recognized East German State, the West presents two interrelated approaches. There is the "hard" Western view, that West Berlin must be maintained in its present form even at the risk of nuclear war, pending the reunification of Germany. And there is the "soft" Western view that the problem of Berlin is detachable from the general problem of Europe and that, in order to avoid general war for an admitted anomaly,

some compromise should be made with the Soviets even at its expense

The first approach is favoured mostly by Washington, while London reflects the second attitude. As far as Washington is concerned, the aspects of Berlin are inseparable from the whole concept of the Free West in relation to Germany. Germany as the key to Europe, since, in recent years, it has emerged as the European pivot around which the balance of power may turn. Any withdrawal of Western troops would offer too great a temptation for Khrushchev to impose the Communist régime on the city. To introduce Communist troops alongside token Western forces would similarly constitute a formidable blow to the confidence of West Berliners.

The Soviet spokesmen do not stress, any more, German reunification; the Kremlin is really interested in finishing the process of integrating East Germany into the Soviet bloc and converting it into the sixth most important industrial power in Europe, the biggest trading partner of the Soviet Union, and (for the Soviet bloc) an indispensable centre for metal-making and chemical industries.

But the political troubles in East Germany have forced the erection of the wall in Berlin and have produced the policy of asking Washington for discussions which would result in recognition of sovereignty over Eastern Germany and Berlin, and eventually culminate in the entrance of the East German satellite into the world community of nations. At the same time, the Politburo is trying to contain West Germany, since a rearmed West Germany might, some day, again, threaten the security of the Soviet Empire. Subconsciously, the Soviets do not feel too easy about Germany's technical genius, returned prosperity and the growing recognition of the importance of West Germany in all aspects of world politics and economics. Any further strengthening of Western Germany might some day produce another uprising in East Germany and tempt a rearmed West Germany to seek reunification by force, thus threatening Soviet hegemony over Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe.

To avoid such possibilities, Khrushchev's policy is to induce the West to sign a peace treaty or a settlement that would fix the present frontiers of the divided Germany, withhold nuclear weapons from the two Germans, and mould a non-aggression pact between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its counterpart, the Warsaw Pact Organization.

So Khrushchev's formula has been to promote "Peace, piece by piece!" Yet the dangerous "soft" approach to the Berlin situation is not without its protagonists in the West, although the piecemeal surrender of West Berlin would eventually erode the will to resist Communism, which would then spread throughout Western Europe and the rest of the world, producing more neutralism and "disengagement" (especially in Italy and Scandinavia). West Germany would certainly then waver between neutralism and closer union with France. France's isolationist tendencies would be strengthened. While following the path of neutralism, the weaker nations would be tempted to purchase Soviet favour by economic and other concessions—such concessions, in turn, producing more and more Soviet demands. The fate of West Berlin involves the survival of Western freedom.

BRITISH GUIANA: UNREMITTING STRUGGLE

CHRISTOPHER STORY

BRITISH GUIANA, like a film star whose domestic upheavals are useful publicity, keeps popping into the news. People are immune from sudden headlines in the newspapers announcing that a fresh political crisis there is boiling; or that British troops are en route for Georgetown; or that the Communists are taking over, or that Dr. Jagan, once again, is being his usual, obstreperous self.

Such are the mental associations which ordinarily go with the name Jagan. They are, of course, superficial and misleading; but they have stuck. The troubles of British Guiana cannot be dismissed so simply. For a start, life there has always been hard; in the inhabited parts of the country, a coastal strip about 173 miles long, men have fought for centuries against formidable natural odds. In the words of the Robertson Commission of 1954, "the general picture is one of an unrelenting and costly struggle against geographical and physical difficulties." And it is, in fact, surprising that the colony was never deserted. For James Redway, who wrote about Guiana in the nineteenth century, speaks of thousands of plantations which were abandoned in the early period of colonisation.

Yet the population of the colony is today nearly 600,000. Almost 50 per cent of the total are of East Indian descent and nurture a long-lived historical grievance. Imported into Guiana originally to take the place of the African slaves freed after slavery had been abolished, they existed under conditions of near-starvation during the period of rock-bottom prices for colonial products, and enjoyed a minimum of social recognition. But with the recent elimination of malaria, and because their rate of increase is faster than that of all other groups in British Guiana, their numbers have risen at a speed which will soon place them in an absolute majority of the total population. It is this conquest of babies which has, more than any other factor, caused the crystallisation of political allegiance in British Guiana to follow racial lines. For the Africans, among whom the emotional disgrace of slavery is still strong, in spite of their attempt to break with the past after freedom by flocking to the towns, now form only 38 per cent of the population total and compose the bulk of the poverty-stricken working class. They have few interests in common with the Indians and an impatient desire to assert their predominance at the seats of power before their influence declines beyond the point where it can control the destiny of affairs.

At the same time, the class system, based on the colour divisions between the English and Portuguese rulers, the middle class of Chinese and Mixed shopkeepers and merchants, and the African and East Indian labouring masses, has collapsed. Out of the resulting social ferment can be distinguished new lines of division, and of these, the most evident is the new ascendancy of the Indians over the Africans. With the confidence which comes of numerical strength, the Indians are rising to positions of influence and control throughout society. In sharp contrast to their lowly status during the earlier colonial period, they are competing successfully

with the Portuguese in commerce, dispossessing the Africans of the village property they once held, and penetrating the professions and the civil service, both of which spheres of activity were once the preserves of those of mixed and of white races

The racial solidarity of the Indian population evolved at the end of the nineteen thirties, when the old, unchallenged rule of the white and mixed population gave way to a struggle for power between African and Indian left-wing groups among the ranks of labour. This struggle coincided with three important events: the emancipation and emergence into active life of a small but prosperous Indian element; the concessions made by the British Raj to the Congress Party in India; and intensified local publicity given to the prophecy that Indians would soon form an absolute majority of the total population.

After the failure of the early moderate African labour and Indian trades union groups to win significant blocks of votes in the election which followed the Second World War, the political initiative in British Guiana passed into the hands of a new generation of political organisers and seekers after real power. By 1950, Cheddi Jagan's Guiana Industrial Workers' Union had captured a large following among the Indians on the sugar estates. Organised since 1943 on the principle of the Communist cell, Jagan's party expanded its influence in the country districts by means of discussion and action groups which were linked in a network throughout the villages adjacent to Georgetown. But the fact that Jagan had to work hard for allegiance is shown by a significant feature of the 1953 elections: in many of the outlying districts where he had been unable to form cells, his candidates were not elected to the Legislature. Meanwhile, by adopting a programme which laid special emphasis on the achievement of self-government and on the improvement of the proletariat condition, the People's Progressive Party, as it became known, attempted to minimise the racial conflict, and at the same time the minds of the intellectuals and professional men who were beginning to emerge from the sugar estates were impregnated with the extreme left-wing views of Jagan's wife, Janet Rosenberg, through the medium of her monthly periodical *Thunder*.

When the Waddington Commission, appointed by the British Government, recommended constitutional changes in 1950, no provision was made for the development of a two-party system, the Commissioners actually reported that they saw no prospect of such an order emerging. As a result, the moderates, who were again trying to align themselves in party groupings, inferring open opposition to the increasingly extremist African and Indian parties, were given no encouragement and floundered completely in the election of 1953. Instead, the PPP, drawing strength from a large bloc of voters newly enfranchised according to literacy, income and property qualifications, gained 21 of the 24 seats in the Legislature which were open to election. The victory was total. Thirty-seven per cent of the electorate and 51 per cent of those who voted, divided their votes among 22 PPP candidates, compared with the 49 per cent of those who voted and who divided their votes between the 108 candidates standing for parties other than the PPP.

Once in power, Jagan lost no time in attacking the Constitution on three fronts: first, by attempting to secure domination of the sugar workers' union, in the course of which he provoked a crippling strike, which occurred in September, secondly, by legislating to weld all trades unions into one giant party machine directed by the PPP; and thirdly, by announcing his intention to put the civil service and the police, neither of which was sympathetic to his movement, beyond the governor's control by changing their composition. But what incensed the British administration most of all was the new Government's habit of hardly tolerating the Colonial administrators at meetings and attempting to execute important legislative changes without first informing the Governor. The economy stagnated due to the general uncertainty of foreign investors about the country's future and Jagan's reputation as a Marxist; and on October 9 the British suppressed the Constitution and imposed martial law.

After this premature political climax, Jagan suffered some setbacks. He failed in his appeals to the British Labour Party and to Prime Minister Nehru of India; the delegates to the tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas in 1954 refused to give him a hearing. The campaign of civil disobedience organised at home by his followers defeated its own end by hardening the attitude of the authorities. Finally, in 1955, a split occurred in the PPP which resulted in the promotion to the leadership of Forbes Burnham, the African leader, at the expense of Jagan, and the former's repudiation of Communism. But Jagan's followers, who did not repudiate Communism, although they never announced that they were Communists, consolidated their strength in the country districts, and the history of British Guiana since 1955 has consisted in a solidification of the positions adopted by both splinter groups, in their successful attraction of large blocs of votes, and in the gradual assumption of a clear predominance among the electorate of Jagan's organisation.

By the interim Constitution which followed the state of emergency in 1953, the elected members of the Legislative Assembly were replaced by members nominated by the administration. The Robertson Commission of 1954, in its report, referred to a dangerous lack of respect for the rights of minorities in British Guiana and recommended a period of marking time, during which plans for economic and social development would be vigorously pursued. When the temporary Constitution was revised three years later, many of the checks to power restored in 1953 were left. But Jagan's fortunes were now once again firmly in the ascendant. In the elections held in 1957, his party won 48 per cent of the total vote in the contests for a smaller legislature. Governor Renison appointed all the Ministers from his party and, later in the year, put Jagan in charge of an advisory committee on industrial development.

Britain had tried hard, during the period of marking time, to carry out the recommendations of a report by the International Bank, made in 1953, attempts were made to diversify agriculture, to improve communications and to create a climate suitable for private industrial development. But, on the whole, too much of the money allotted for expenditure between 1956 and 1960 was spent on housing and social services, for the colony's

standard of living to improve enough to alter the pattern of political loyalties, as Whitehall had hoped might happen. The period did, however, have the effect of bringing the Guianese political leaders to maturity in measured time. Jagan has become more aware than he was of the stark need to encourage the flow from abroad of development aid and private investment.

At the constitutional conference held at Lancaster House in March, 1960, the Guianese reluctantly accepted a compromise formula for independence whereby the two governments would meet for final independence talks a year after the first election to be held under the new Constitution. The Guianese obtained the right to conclude their own trade agreements unless they conflicted with the British interest; and the power of the senate to delay any bill from the Legislative Assembly for up to a year, dating from 1955, was removed. But against this liberal advance must be reckoned the approval given by the British Government to the Guianese request that there should be no official Leader of the Opposition. Thus, in line with the opinion of the Waddington Commission, the British have cheerfully connived at the development of one-party government. Where democracy is so precariously established, the seeds of its destruction are already built into its framework. Opposition to government is all the more bitter in British Guiana because not only is it racial, it is unofficial. Dr Jagan may have gained a sound victory in the elections last August, but his enemies are many, and the violent reaction to his call for higher taxes and compulsory savings earlier this year was ample proof that opposition must be violent if it is to be effective. The explosion has had the effect of postponing the final constitutional conference and causing the Americans to hesitate even more than they already had done, in their offer of aid.

Jagan blames the sugar planters, most of whom are permanently absent, for the slow progress of British Guiana in the world. As all seventeen of the plantations are owned by three large companies, one of which, Booker Brothers, also owns eleven of the sixteen sugar factories and over fifty of their subsidiary companies, Jagan has been able to make political capital out of this obvious social injustice. But his claim that the sugar planters deliberately maintain a surplus force of labour is less well-founded. He charges that 50 per cent of their 170,000 acres is purposely left uncultivated so that men will remain in the areas adjacent to the estates. In fact, at least that amount of land is annually under flood or pasture and is used for the complicated drainage system, which takes up large quantities of land *within* these cultivated areas. Finally, Jagan charges the sugar interests with the sin of accumulating astronomical profits, but he does not refer to the expenditure on drainage and irrigation which devours the profits to the extent that additional capital is constantly having to be found either by means of shipping dividends or by spreading investment outside the country.

The reasons for British Guiana's difficulties are not to be found in tales of exploitation, although the Guianese have had their share of human degradation and misery, but in practical problems which are proving hard to overcome. The physical disadvantages of the country itself, the damp

heat, the fast rate of population growth, the slow rate of investment and industrialisation, and the facts that much of the available agricultural work is seasonal and that the planters naturally wish to spread their work.

To break the back of the country's troubles, Jagan looks to the system which is at present in operation in Puerto Rico, where the size of the estates is limited to 500 acres and where the excess is bought by the government and distributed in small family plots of up to twenty-five acres in size, what land is not absorbed in this way is distributed to proportional profit farms and co-operatives.

There are a number of reasons why the security of foreign interests in British Guiana is not as precarious as had been thought in the years following the emergency of 1953. In the first place, Jagan's preference is for independent and locally owned sugar estates, and the country has benefited materially from the US ban on Cuban sugar. Secondly, the production of rice, which is mainly in local hands, has been rising so fast that there have been storage difficulties, this success will militate against collectivisation. Thirdly, the country is short of local technicians, and those who have left in the past have tended not to return; nationalisation would cause a disastrous exodus. Finally, the need for foreign investment is too great for Jagan to want to risk expropriating industrial complexes which he cannot administer and for which he could offer no compensation.

The £23 million development plan scheduled to run until 1964 is short of money, in spite of British aid and additional funds from the United Nations, the International Bank and local loans. Hence Jagan's statement to the Western Hemisphere Exports Council Mission which visited British Guiana in March, that he proposed to seek aid from all sources but that his Government was committed to a mixed economy in which public and private enterprise will exist side by side, as in India. He added that his Government would not expropriate private property, but that he could offer no guarantee on nationalisation, other than that the bauxite and sugar interests would be exempt.

This statement has been received with a degree of warmth by the British, more realistic and optimistic about British Guiana than the Americans, who fear that Britain is about to dump another Cuba at her back door. But the Cuban solution will not suit racially divided Guiana, nor will any cut-and-dried formula. As long as the present Government does not fall into the hands of extreme elements, which have not yet emerged into the open, the prospect of British Guiana going Communist is remote, for Jagan is a supreme realist. Western aid to British Guiana should be generous and given generously—out of a genuine desire to help a poor country onto its feet, rather than from largely mythical considerations of cold war expediency.

PROFILE : FATHER DOMINIQUE PIRE

CECIL NORTHCOTT

FATHER Dominique Pire, the Dominican monk of Huy, Belgium, is one of the "originals" of the European scene, famous for his work amongst refugees and now experimenting with "The University of Peace" on the banks of the Meuse at Huy.

He is a warm-hearted, friendly man of 52 who was drawn into refugee work because he himself was once a refugee. He has never forgotten that in 1914, as a small boy, he was driven from his home with his parents. He saw his own grandfather shot and his home burned. Refugees have always been near his heart. In fact he calls his movement to help the unwanted, the lonely and the forgotten by a very expressive name—"Heart Open to the World". That's what matters for Father Pire.

He now has six "European Villages" established in Aachen, Bregenz, Augsburg, Berchem, Spiesen and Wuppertal, and he is just back from Pakistan, where at Gohira he has started a community called "The Island of Peace". For all this service to humanity Father Pire was given in 1958 the Nobel Peace Prize. I was very interested to hear from him of his new plans for "The University of Peace".

There on the banks of the Meuse at Huy, where Father Pire lives in the monastery of La Sarte, he has built the first group of simple buildings which he believes may well be the beginning of a big University of Peace. His idea is to bring groups of young people from all parts of the world and induce them to live together, study together and then go home to their countries as practitioners of what he calls "the Fraternal Dialogue". That, put very simply, means being on terms of friendship and goodwill with everybody.

Father Pire has a deep and very practical belief in what ordinary people can do for the peace of the world. He says that he is a bridge-builder between people. In his little office in Huy he has long lists of names of people who want to be in touch with other people. He spends a lot of time matching person with person, and in getting people to write to one another. He says that the barriers that divide humanity such as "nations", "ideologies" and "social categories" can be surmounted by people loving one another as plain human beings.

That is the secret behind his new venture in the "University of Peace" or, as he sometimes calls it, the "University of Humanity". There in the half-finished buildings he assembles his students, some two hundred all told, and his lecturers. There are lectures on history, geography, economics and philosophy. It all looks very familiar. But every lecture is pointed to a practical end. The historian must show how history can unite people. The geographer is expected to remember that his world is made up of people as well as mountains and rivers. The philosopher is expected to point out what is good in the different philosophies of the world. Everything must be what Father Pire calls "pro-human", and every student is

expected to go home and have the same attitude of mind towards the people he meets in daily life

His university is a very modest affair, so far paid for out of his Nobel Prize money. It is a simple quadrilateral of glass and concrete, still unfinished and only partly furnished. The first set of buildings is named "The Gandhi International Centre", and I have no doubt the second set will be called "Albert Schweitzer", for both men have inspired the outlook of Dominique Pire. Pire would not place himself amongst the orthodox pacifists, and certainly not amongst the anti-nuclear campaigners who "stand" and "sit". Everything he does must be positive and not just a protest. "I fight against barriers," he says, "against prejudices and stereotyped social ideas. The only common denominator is our shared humanity. I am not interested in converting people to my way, to Roman Catholicism. My aim is to build a bridge of light and love across the turbulent waters of imperialism, anti-imperialism and racial hatred."

This is the spirit he hopes to inject into his students who come for fortnightly courses. He provides their food, but they must otherwise pay their own way. He stipulates that they shall be idealistic, educated and cultured. He secures lecturers from all over Europe and expects them to deal with history, geography, economics and philosophy as human themes, and not just as academic courses.

To look at his programme is, at first glance, to see a familiar enough assembly of world problems. It might be any school of world citizenship. But Father Pire sees people all the time, and he expects his students to carry on the "Fraternal Dialogue" of goodwill when they get home. He expects them to do things that unite people rather than those that divide them. He puts an Arab alongside an Israeli, a black African alongside a white one, and expects that on a basis of plain humanity they will begin to be friends.

Father Pire is immensely impressed with idealism of young people in Asia and he has attracted many of them to Huy. He has avoided the anti-Communists as well as the anti-nuclear campaigners with his simple reflection, "I am not anti-anything, but always pro-human. Religion is a matter of love, not caste and system." He makes no great claims for his little embryo-university of two hundred students. He is aware that many may well come "just for the ride." But from the letters he has received as the result of last year's initial course, he is sure that in the next ten years he could inspire many hundreds of young people to be dedicated to the ways of peace, and that his "fraternal dialogue" is a simple technique of friendship that any man of the "open heart" could follow in any circumstances.

THE BRITISH SCENE—

OUR ECONOMY AND OUR NATIONALISED
INDUSTRIES

SIR ARTHUR COMYNS CARR, QC

THE one factor that has prevented our economy from continuous progress is the recurrence of balance of payments crises, always met by reducing demand and therefore production, a remedy which has never met with more than partial temporary success

It is worthwhile to examine the startling changes since the war in the make-up of this balance

Compare 1937 with 1961 Both were bad years, though 1937 less bad than many pre-war years Both resulted in a small minus figure on Revenue Account The main changes for the worse are as follows —

(1) Excess of Government payments overseas (mainly military) up by £333 millions.

(2) Net earnings of shipping down by £180 millions—now actually a minus of £50 millions

(3) Excess of net oil imports over coal exports up by £358 millions

There has also, of course, been a substantial increase in our imports of food and raw materials

On the other side of the account, the deficiency has been made good by an enormous increase in the excess of exports over imports of “articles wholly or mainly manufactured”, which includes almost everything except basic raw materials This excess is now more than eleven times as great as it was in 1937 It is now no less than £1,752 millions Even allowing for the decline in the value of the pound, this excess is three times as great. It is entirely due to the efforts of two groups of industries the engineering group and, to a much smaller extent, the chemical group These two have for some years carried our balance of payments on their backs Within the engineering group, the figure from machinery of many kinds is several times as great as motor cars, although the latter are constantly boosted in the Press It is the product of a great number of specialist firms, few of them in the giant class It increases continuously

In spite of this great effort by the much abused British manufacturers, or some of them, and their still more abused employees, the final balance is precarious and it should be one of the first tasks of government to improve it and stabilise it

How far is the relative and absolute decline of our shipping due to artificial methods of competition from other countries, and what can we do to right that position?

Does our system of taxation help our exporters to the extent to which some other countries do? Is it fair as between our exporters and those of our manufacturers who are content to batten on a highly protected home market with less trouble, expense and risk?

Are we wise to allow our economy to become so greatly and increasingly dependent upon imported oil to the detriment of our coal?

This last question brings us to the nationalised industries. There is much muddled thinking about their purpose and their finance, now that they are public services. Each of them is in the hands of a separate statutory corporation, which has all the vices and none of the virtues of a Government Department, subject only to a very nebulous control by a Minister and still less by Parliament. Worst of all, it is not even the same Minister, so that no-one is responsible for the supervision of the national estate as a whole. Each corporation is directed to make ends meet, taking one year with another if it can, entirely without regard to the others, and has been left to do so. The railways are to a large extent, and the Gas and Electricity Boards to a smaller extent, now using oil instead of coal, quite regardless of the effect upon the Coal Board. For such a decision a Minister in charge of them all should have required very compelling reasons.

In the case of the railways it may well be doubted whether the very large capital expenditure since the war has not been to a great extent wasted. The substitution of the diesel engine for steam, apart from its disastrous effect upon the coal industry, has certainly not saved the railways from ever mounting losses, while the improvement from the users' point of view has been, to say the least, marginal. Long distance electrification seems to be in the doldrums: we do not possess the hydro-electric power which has made it a success in some continental countries. It might well have been better to have spent some of the capital upon improving the rolling stock—fewer square wheels and cramped and uncomfortable seats, and bigger and better goods wagons, especially road-rail trucks.

Now we are confronted with the threat of wholesale closure of lines which do not by themselves show a profit. Some of our public services are traditionally (chiefly because they were taken over from private enterprise) supposed to be paid for entirely by the actual users, and if they do not show a profit there is an outcry. Others are paid for entirely out of rates and taxes, and nobody bothers much about their cost, because they cannot be judged by commercial standards. Surely the distinction is entirely out of date. The questions today are—(1) Is the service necessary? (2) What is the best and cheapest way of supplying it?

Under modern conditions it is the duty of the Government to ensure that the whole country has a reasonably adequate system of transport by one means or another. The Post Office carries out this duty quite regardless of the fact that the delivery to remote parts cannot be self-supporting and the users in more populous areas are subsidising the others.

When it comes to choosing the methods, there are other important considerations besides operating profit. The railway tracks exist, the present roads are quite inadequate for their existing traffic. More are being constructed at vast cost in money and land, and still more would be needed if much of the present rail traffic is to go by road.

It is not generally realised that more than half of the capital assets

taken over from the old railway companies consisted of the original cost one hundred or more years ago of acquiring the land on which they operate. Extortionate as the prices then paid undoubtedly were, the present value of that asset is certainly many times as great, and much of it might be more profitably used. Of course if we in those days, and quite recently, had had the sense to acquire for the public the vast increase in land values created by railways and roads we might all be travelling for nothing and paying railwaymen decent wages!

The railways again kill and maim relatively few people. The toll of the roads is a notorious outrage. Railway traffic also causes much less nuisance, and is much less destructive of amenities than motor traffic.

While some of Dr Beeching's proposed reforms, and others proposed by other people, would no doubt be salutary, we should hesitate long before assenting to his wholesale closures. Not that the responsibility is entirely his. It lies with the terms of reference given to him by Mr Marples and originally with the structure of the Nationalisation Act.

In truth, the only real justification for nationalising the railways, or the coal mines, is that they are, in the main, necessary, but cannot under modern conditions both give the required services and show a commercial profit.

IN AUTUMN

My realm of summer is become a realm
Of fields be-rimed and waterbrooks in spate,
Where stands of oak and solitary elm
Are gaunt with dripping branches that of late
So bright a burden bore,
And rosebuds do not open any more.

Autumn is come, and yearly when I see
This elegiac beauty fill the world,
Forgotten are the forays of the bee,
And all the petalled splendour that uncurled
When spring was new
Forgotten is the spring, the summer too

ERIC CHILMAN

LIBERALS AND PENSIONS

DESMOND BANKS,

Chairman of the British Liberal Party Executive

ACCORDING to the Government White Paper, *Provision for Old Age*, published in October, 1958, the two principal problems concerning national insurance retirement pensions facing the country at that time were the emerging deficit in the national insurance fund and the gap between those who were covered by occupational schemes (about one half of the male working population) and those who were not. The National Insurance Act, 1959, the terms of which were foreshadowed in the White Paper, was the Government's solution of these problems. The White Paper might well have mentioned a third problem—the inadequacy of the existing level of pension. The increase in basic pension rates, introduced in April, 1961 simultaneously with the implementation of the National Insurance Act, 1959, was a tacit admission of this problem's existence.

It is the view of the Liberal Party that the problem of the deficit was solved in a completely unacceptable manner and that the other two problems have been left substantially unresolved in spite of the marginal palliatives applied by the Government in both cases.

The White Paper revealed the startling fact that a married man in respect of whom full contributions had been paid since 1926 and who retired in 1958, would receive with his wife a pension to the capital value of £2,650, while contributions for this pension made by him and his employers, accumulated at compound interest, would have amounted to no more than £200. The granting, quite rightly, of all pension increases to all existing pensioners and all future pensioners, even although their contributions and those of their employers would only have paid for their pensions (with the appropriate Exchequer supplement) if they were to contribute at the proportionately higher rate throughout their working lives, was one main cause of the emerging deficit. The other main cause was the growth in the proportion of the population over retirement age—one in 15 in 1911, one in 7 today and one in 5, so it is estimated, by 1980.

The Government solution was to introduce the present graduated scheme under which all not covered by a contracted-out occupational scheme pay, in addition to a basic national insurance contribution, a graded contribution of 4½ per cent of earnings in the range £9-£15 per week, their employers paying an equal amount. In return they receive proportionate additions to their pension on retirement.

Liberals object strongly to this graduated scheme, believing that it is primarily a device to offset the deficit rather than a measure designed to provide better pensions. We consider that it provides a poor bargain for many who are in it, and that it involves a redistribution of income between contributors which is quite indefensible, involving one class of contributors in subsidising the contributions of another section of contributors, some of whom will certainly be earning more than many of those in the first category.

We are impressed, also, by the argument advanced by the Institute of

Actuaries drawing attention to the way in which the graduated scheme throws a burden on future generations. The graded contributions provide an immediate source of revenue to meet current pension liabilities. The graded pensions, when they come to be paid, must be found out of contributions at the time they fall due. We are, therefore, placing on future generations an obligation to pay pensions at a higher rate than we are prepared at this moment to pay them ourselves.

Above all, Liberals feel that it is not necessary to compel people to make provision for retirement over and above the basic retirement pension. The important factor, as we see it, is to put the old age pension at a decent level which people can be expected to live on. If this is done, then people should be left to make their own provision for additional pension.

Liberals are agreed, however, that the basic pension at the present level is inadequate. Of 5½ million pensioners 1½ million have to have recourse to National Assistance and many others could claim National Assistance but are prevented by pride from seeking this help. We want to see the pension put at a proper subsistence level. We believe that the State has a duty to ensure that a basic subsistence income is available to all at retirement quite irrespective of what else people may have been able to provide for themselves in addition by their own efforts.

It follows from this that Liberals reject any idea of paying pensions only to those whose need is proved. This would mean putting all pensioners on a means test. Pensions would be based completely on what would generally be regarded as a system of State charity. The means test would penalise the thrifty and reward the improvident. Furthermore, millions of people have been participating in national insurance on the understanding that they would receive a pension as of right.

The community has the choice of providing certain services and certain benefits collectively or individually. If it decides to provide pensions up to the subsistence level collectively, this is not a waste of money but a preference within a clearly defined limit for the collective as opposed to the individual method. But, as has already been made clear, Liberals believe that the collective method should only apply to the basic subsistence pension and not for pension over and above subsistence.

We have to beware also of a partial introduction of the means test system. This is favoured by many Conservatives who believe that increases above the present basic pension level should be made, not by increasing the pension, but by increasing the rates for National Assistance. Such a process would gradually erode the basic subsistence pension as of right.

Liberals realise that the fixing of the proper subsistence level in contemporary terms will need to be the subject of independent and expert enquiry. In our Assembly Resolution passed in 1960 at Eastbourne, however, we called for an immediate and interim increase to 60/- for a single person and 96/- for a married couple. Allowing for the rise in the cost of living since then, equivalent figures would now be about 65/- and 105/- respectively. An increase to this level would be the first step on the road to a proper subsistence pension. In addition, we propose to abolish the present earnings rule.

We want the pension, once it has been fixed at a proper subsistence level, to be subject to increase in two ways

1 At, say, yearly intervals the pension should be reviewed in the light of a cost of living index based on the prices of goods pensioners actually buy. There should be an automatic increase in the pension to match any rise in the index.

2 At, say, two-yearly intervals the pension should be reviewed to see whether an increase is required to ensure for the pensioner a share in increasing national prosperity. The view of an independent body of experts should be obtained and published. There would thus be a link with wage levels and average earnings.

This method of providing for increases would be infinitely preferable to the existing method of prolonged agitation, followed by reluctant concession for which great credit is subsequently claimed.

Liberals say that the problem of financing the basic pension should be kept quite separate from the problem of bridging the gap between those who are in occupational schemes and those who are not. As has already been made clear, Liberals feel that it is not necessary to compel people to make provision for retirement over and above the subsistence level. We want them to have the *opportunity* to make this extra provision but we do not want to *compel* them to make it.

We propose, therefore, to withdraw the graduated scheme crediting contributors with the amount of graduated pension to which their contributions to date entitle them.

In place of the graduated scheme we propose a scheme on the following lines:

1 every employer with no pension scheme in his firm to pay a fixed levy for every employee to a Central Account administered by the Government,

2 any employee in non-pensionable employment to be free, as now, to set aside, if he chooses, up to a fixed percentage of his earnings in the present retirement annuity contracts which are issued by insurance companies and other bodies and contributions and which under the 1956 Finance Act are, within limits, deductible from income for tax purposes,

3 the Central Account then to add to the employee's contribution an amount in fixed proportion to the employee's contribution, thus increasing his eventual pension.

This scheme has many advantages as the following nine points indicate:

1 It is entirely voluntary as far as the employees are concerned.

2 It keeps the question of further provision quite separate from the basic old age pensions.

3 It would not be inflationary and would involve real saving.

4 There would be no Government subsidy and no substantial cost to the taxpayer.

5 There would be no obstacle to the extension of private schemes. On the introduction of a private scheme, those in the voluntary scheme could receive a paid-up pension payable on retirement and go into the new scheme.

6 There would be no actuarial problem for the State because there would be no State pension fund.

7 There would be no vast funds in the hands of the State for it to invest as "backstairs nationalisation" (as in the Labour Plan—a graduated scheme on more ambitious lines than the Government's and open to many of the same objections).

8 There would be no compulsory redistribution of income as between different sections of contributors.

9 Lastly, but most important of all, the man without an occupational pension

would be given the opportunity, if he wished to take it, of providing a pension for himself on something like similar terms to the man in an occupational scheme

This scheme would go very much further than the present marginal graded scheme to bridge the gap between those who are in occupational schemes and those who are not

Finally, we must have a look at the cost of these various proposals. It will be clear that the scheme for further provision just discussed would not involve the Government in any expense other than the cost of administration and even this could be met out of the employers' levy.

The proposal to withdraw the graduated scheme will involve raising in another way the additional revenue to meet the deficit which is at present raised by the graded contributions. Had the Government not introduced the graded scheme, the deficit at the moment would have been about £150 million per annum. On the other hand the Exchequer contribution to the present scheme is considerably higher than it would have been in the old scheme which was the basis of the estimate of deficit. This Exchequer contribution would be released if the scheme were withdrawn. About £100 million would remain to be raised from taxation instead of from the graded contributions.

The cost of abolishing the earnings rule has been estimated at £100 million. It needs, however, to be remembered that against this initial cost can be set the fact that we shall no longer be committing ourselves to pay quite substantial increments in the future. At the time when this proposal takes effect, a considerable number of persons will already have earned increments by previously postponing their retirement. Increments so earned will continue to be paid.

The cost of putting the pension at a proper subsistence level would probably be substantial. Liberals recognise that it may be necessary to move towards this goal by stages, linking its attainment with the success of a 5-year plan to expand Britain's economic growth. The immediate and interim increase to 65/- for a single person and 105/- for a married couple would cost about £100 million.

The immediate effect of our proposals, therefore, would be for a sum of approximately £100 million to be raised from taxation instead of from graded contributions and an additional sum of about £200 million to be raised through taxation. This means an *additional* cost of £200 million and this is not an intolerable addition to a Budget of £6,000 million.

We propose to abolish the employee's national insurance contribution and to replace it with a graded social security tax to pay with the continuing employer's contribution for all social security benefits. This tax would in practice be collected with income tax with which it would be integrated. It would in all probability be so graduated that it covered all those now paying insurance contributions although the lowest paid contributors would pay rather less than now.

The employer's basic contribution would remain, although the employer's graded contribution would, of course, disappear. The employer's basic

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TRIBUTE—

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, OM

G P GOOCH

GEORGE TREVELYAN, who died in July at the age of 86, was the best-seller among British historians of the first half of the twentieth century. His father, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, himself a distinguished historian and sometime Secretary of State for Scotland, was the nephew and biographer of Macaulay. The inclusion of the name Macaulay, chosen for him by his parents, would have meant little to his elder brothers, Charles the politician and Robert the poet. From his early years he was convinced that his destiny was to read, write and teach history. The academic and other honours which poured in on him from many lands were fully deserved.

There cannot be many still living who, like myself, knew him intimately from his undergraduate days. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1893 when I was in my third year. I vividly recall our many walks and talks in my rooms and his and in the quiet quadrangles of our beloved College which could count Bacon, Newton and Macaulay among its sons. He had already read widely in history and literature. Unlike Macaulay, who died at the age of fifty-nine, leaving his large-scale *History of England* a magnificent torso, his great nephew enjoyed a happier fate. Like that of Macaulay his work improved with advancing years. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to surpass the brilliance of his early writings, but his later works reveal a maturity and authority unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. His masterpiece on the reign of Queen Anne deserves to be described as *monumentum aere perennius*.

I had little doubt that he would devote his life to history and literature. He loved poetry, and George Meredith, on whom he wrote a delightful book, meant as much to him as Matthew Arnold to myself. He was a tireless walker for he was overflowing with physical as well as mental energy. In 1898 he became the first history Fellow of Trinity College, a distinction vainly sought some years before by Martland, our greatest legal historian. In the present century history students, I am glad to say, have had the same chances in this highly competitive arena as classicists, mathematicians and scientists. Trevelyan rose to even loftier altitudes when he became in later years Regius Professor of Modern History and Master of Trinity. He paid his debt in his little volume on the history of his College which provides the visitor with just what he wishes to know.

Trevelyan inherited what may be broadly described as the Liberal creed with its robust confidence that the world could be definitely improved by bold thinking and constructive statecraft. He followed every move on the political stage with eager interest, but never felt the slightest desire to enter political life. At the height of the Boer War, Charles Masterman, his friend and mine, suggested that a little group of young Liberals should co-operate in a volume of essays on the outstanding social and political problems of the time. The title, *The Heart of the Empire*, was chosen

by Trevelyan, who contributed the concluding essay with a thoughtful survey of intellectual and other tendencies entitled *The Past and Future*. My own contribution, *Imperialism*, the longest in the volume, expressed the general attitude of the other contributors, who charged the Conservative Government with neglect of domestic problems and of almost exclusive attention to problems of the vast British Empire. The book had a success which astonished its authors, and we flattered ourselves that we had played a modest part in the Liberal revival which culminated in the sweeping Liberal victory of 1906.

Though Trevelyan devoted far the greatest part of his life to the history of the modern centuries, he made his début with an impressive volume, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, an enlarged version of the thesis which had won him his Fellowship. There is no sign of immaturity in the book, and the narrative flows briskly along. The most dramatic episode is the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The whole work revealed that his interest in the social life of the masses was no less than in the story of the Court and the records of Parliament.

Like most Englishmen, Trevelyan sympathised with the *Risorgimento*. That sentiment was one of the factors which endeared George Meredith, one of the most eloquent champions in England of the cause of Italian unity. No one is a hero to his valet, but Garibaldi was a full-size hero to the young English historian whose trilogy on that romantic figure glows with enthusiasm. How he sailed with his Thousand, how his little army drove the troops of the King of Naples from Sicily almost without a fight, how he followed them to the mainland and marched into Naples and the Eternal City—here was an epic which stirred the blood of romantic youth more perhaps than any other episode in nineteenth century Europe. It is scarcely an exaggeration to declare that with the publication of this glittering panorama he awoke to find himself famous. In one of his latest addresses entitled *Bias in History* he confessed that the books reflected the faults of youth as well as its merits. He had failed to understand the attitude of the many good patriots who had opposed or declined to co-operate with his hero. Though Garibaldi had stolen the limelight, Italy could not have been unified under King Victor Emmanuel II without the brain of Cavour and the soldiers of Napoleon III.

The author gave testimony to his love of Italy in a practical form by serving in an ambulance corps during the First World War, a moving experience which he described in his *Scenes from Italy's War*. A fifth volume on the country which he loved next to his own was devoted to Daniele Manni, the hero of the Revolution in Venice in 1848. Perhaps the keenest disappointment of his later years was Mussolini's decision to enter the Second World War on the side of Hitler and to shed the blood of the troops of a country which had proved a good friend of Italy. His Italian sympathies were shared by his gifted wife Janet, whose *Short History of Italy* is as scholarly as it is readable.

No British historian has loved his country more than George Trevelyan and none has done more to make its history known. His one-volume *History of England* was the best summary since J. R. Green's *Short History*

of the English People, his *England in the Seventeenth Century* is the best popular single volume survey of the most controversial phase of our island story. Of even greater importance was his three-volume narrative of the age of Queen Anne. No finer monument of British historiography in the annals of the twentieth century exists than this classic. It combines mastery of sources with objective judgment and an attractive style. Though he came from the Whig camp, in which his father and his great-uncle had been shining lights, there is no trace of party bias in these pages. The Tories, he believes, were right in making peace at the end of the long War of the Spanish Succession, whereas the Whigs had advocated its continuance in the hope of evicting the Bourbon ruler and thus fulfilling the aim for which the war had been waged.

He had gradually acquired a temper of detachment which would probably have been beyond the capacity of Macaulay if he had lived to carry out his cherished design of describing the achievements, the actors and the atmosphere of the reign of Anne as he had done for the reigns of Charles II and James II and the first half of the reign of William III. Part of the same ground was covered in his little book in the Home University Library, *History of the Revolution of 1688*. He took a keen interest in popular education and was an active supporter of the Working Men's College in London. His volume, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, is as objective as any surviving Victorian can desire.

In his middle years Trevelyan wrote three biographies, the official life of John Bright (a fitting companion to the Cobden of John Morley), the life of Lord Grey of the Reform Bill and a smaller volume on his father. All three were enriched by the use of family papers, all three commanded his personal sympathy. Though he did not share the pacifism of the eminent Radical Quaker statesman, he did full justice to his lofty moral principles. In his latest book, the Clark Lectures, and in other addresses devoted to literature, his life-long devotion to poetry shines out once again. When his eyesight failed, he found some consolation in reciting from memory some of his favourite passages from the English masters.

That he was a great historian no reader of his books can doubt. He was also a great citizen, rejoicing in the ordered liberty of his country and fully resolved to maintain the lofty principles which have made British democracy a success, since it provides the best opportunity for every citizen to develop his talents and thereby to contribute to the welfare of the community. To such an enrichment no one in the first half of the present century has made a more precious and enduring contribution.

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contribution might then be graduated according to earnings. If this were done, it would, as in the case of the social security tax, cause revenue to rise with earnings which would help to meet the increasing cost of pensions due to the increasing proportion of the population over retirement age and the cost of the higher pensions to which a higher level of earnings would lead.

OXFORD PORTRAIT—

BOAR'S HILL

SIR ARTHUR CURGENVEN

WHEN Gilbert Murray died five years ago the last great link with the Boar's Hill of pre-war days was broken. Only some 25 years, but years of drastic contraction in ways and means, and to a survivor from those more spacious times the little community he had come to know seems to have receded to the remoteness of a period piece. It was certainly a loosely-knit community, but there were enough shared interests, not to speak of the claims of neighbourliness, to ensure a fair measure of social cohesion and intellectual congruity, enough, I hope, to make sense of an attempt to assemble together a few of the men and women who gave to the Boar's Hill of those days its distinctive flavour.

When I told Dean Inge, who on retirement had buried himself in the country, that he ought to have come to live among us on Boar's Hill, "I don't want to live in a garden city," was his acid and libellous retort to the flattering reproach. No, thanks largely to the Oxford Preservation Trust and measures taken to preserve a green belt around the city, these uplands still retain much of their natural charm. Were Matthew Arnold to revisit the haunts he loved he could recognise many a feature, including, as some contend, the Signal Elm, that he commemorated in *The Scholar-Gipsy* and *Thyrsis*. The town-dweller in search of somewhere to walk will find field-paths and leafy lanes and open spaces, and will feel the exhilaration of a fresher air and be enchanted by wide views of Oxford and the surrounding country.

In its palmy days some wit dubbed Boar's Hill the Highbrow of Oxford. Or it was England's Helicon, so far as two successive Poets Laureate could make it so. Literary production was rife. Sending me a copy of his latest book its author wrote "How we do take in—and put out—each other's toshing on Boar's Hill!" Does this suggest a mutual admiration society or modern grove of Academe, its pretensions a fair target for the barbs of ridicule? That would be to impute a collective self-consciousness of which I saw little evidence. In general we went our own ways and occupied ourselves with our several interests. Sir Arthur Evans was arranging his Minoan collection from the Palace of Knossos in the Ashmolean Museum. Gilbert Murray was dividing his time between translating the Greek dramatists and working for international amity. Sir Patrick Cadell was writing his history of the Bombay army. A little later, L. G. Wickham Legg, Fellow of New College, was to compile the 1931-40 supplement of the DNB. Dons on the active list, like Paul Roberts and E. F. Carr, were at work in their colleges. And, needless to say, the cake contained other ingredients than these highly-cultivated plums, enough of human nature's daily food to satisfy the social appetite of the ordinary man.

Robert Bridges had built himself a house looking out upon Oxford from the top of the hill, where he died in 1930, and where his widow still lived. From the house a short covered way led to the poet's study, with its

contents, when Mrs Bridges showed it to us, just as he had left them. One could picture the aged poet, as a friend had described him to me, like some old hermit in his cell, at work on his *Testament of Beauty*. We had scarcely settled before the Masfields migrated to Burcot, near Dorchester, and a visit to them there is another story.

At the summit of Boar's Hill lay also the estate of Youlbury, where in a large sprawling house standing in about a hundred acres of woodland, Sir Arthur Evans lived alone. Already in his eighties when I first knew him, Evans was still working in the fields he had made his own, while in conjunction with the Preservation Trust he had indelibly imprinted his mark on the face of Boar's Hill, most conspicuously by creating and endowing the Jarn Garden with its panoramic Mound. A local committee, of which he was chairman, looked after the Trust's interests, and I was elected to it and became its honorary secretary. The tricky job of handling my little headstrong chairman often took me up to Youlbury. Going to see Evans once when he was in bed recovering from an operation, a water colour hanging on the wall attracted my attention.

"What's this place?" I asked him.

"That's Ragusa, where the Austrians imprisoned me," he replied, adding, with a sort of perky relish, "I had to write a letter in my own blood."

On one of my last visits I found him deciphering a Saxon deed in which the fox figured among the local place-names, as it still does today in Foxcombe, Fox Lane, the Fox Inn. Evans died soon after reaching his ninetieth birthday, one of his last acts being to rise from his bed to receive a deputation which came down from London to congratulate him on that anniversary. Some of his conclusions in his *Palace of Minos* have of late been disputed, but it seems that the most recent "finds" have confirmed their substantial validity.

Within a short time of settling on Boar's Hill I was separately enlisted as walking companion by each of three sharply contrasted veterans—Dr Blakiston, ex-President of Trinity College, Harold Dowdall, KC, a retired County Court Judge, and Gilbert Murray. The old judge had practised at the Liverpool bar and been Lord Mayor of that city, and Augustus John had painted him full-length in his robes; and he had many reminiscences of the legal luminaries of the Northern Circuit and, having been Chancellor of the dioceses of Liverpool and Bristol, of noteworthy clerics as well. He had met Matthew Arnold at a dinner party and had seen Newman, like himself a Trinity man, the last time the Cardinal visited his old college. The zenith of Blakiston's career—fifty-seven years spent at Trinity as scholar, fellow and President—had been the Vice-Chancellorship, which he had held partly during and partly after the First World War. He especially plumed himself upon his financial acumen, which enabled him to guide the university through a difficult period of transition. (I recalled this vaunt when he died worth £100,000.) On retirement he had bought Orchard Lea, a large house with extensive grounds. After a short acquaintance it was kind of him, we thought, to invite us and our two sons to lunch, though the effect was a little marred when he observed, "I regard it as a duty to get to know my neighbours." Blakiston was a rather

puzzling mixture of the opinionative and the diffident, of complacency, even boastfulness, and what, in certain situations, seemed like self-distrust. In conversation with me he loved to recount his exploits in the various offices, including that of proctor, he had held. Suspicious of every reform, he would have kept Oxford undefiled by subversive doctrines and mischievous innovations, an all-male, preferably celibate, stronghold of Anglicanism, Toryism, the Humanities. At social gatherings which included ladies he was shy, inclined to be tongue-tied and seemed often gauche and ill at ease. On the verge of eighty he was still a brisk walker and enjoyed a three or four mile walk, when he was knocked down and fatally injured by a car.

The Murrays were neighbours, close both in distance, and, very soon, in friendship. In 1936, Gilbert Murray was seventy and had just retired from his Chair of Greek at Oxford. His daily routine was to devote the morning, which began with breakfast at eight, to work in his study on his chosen causes and to take a pretty long walk in the afternoon. I know few better ways of getting to know a man than to share with him the stimulating influences of fresh air and exercise, and this good fortune was mine during the ensuing 21 years. After he died at the age of 91, in 1957, I tried to record some of my many memories of him*. Here I can afford only a few commemorative lines. The face of Boar's Hill is for me pervaded by his personality; as I now retrace the paths we so often trod together the memory of many a thing he said revives. Here is where he remarked upon Churchill's "so much owed by so many to so few"—"in the perfection of its simplicity it's like some saying of the Periclean age". Here again is where he said, when the war was at its height, "There is such a thing as using one pest to drive out another. But we musn't say that of the Russians, must we?". Though the international situation during those critical days was constantly in the forefront of his mind, his conversation would range over a variety of other topics, reflecting the wide compass of his interests, his prodigious memory and, frequently breaking in, his delicious sense of humour. Dedicated as he was to selfless causes, about his own achievements I could rarely get him to speak, only that little boy in Australia, so vividly portrayed in the since published *Unfinished Autobiography*, was remote enough to enjoy freedom from this scrupulous censorship. As I look back upon our close friendship, it is the man beneath the great scholar and humanist, the lovable man and delightful companion, meeting you upon what seemed equal terms by virtue of his abounding human nature and gentle courtesy, that I remember with gratitude and affection. Lady Mary, too, was something of a dedicated spirit—to ideals of an uncompromising rigour, pacifism, socialism, vegetarianism, total abstinence. I hasten to add that among the inflexible rules of her life none was more sacred or more vigilantly honoured than the duty of doing a practical kindness whenever opportunity offered. The Murrays were warmly hospitable but gave no formal parties at Yatscombe, taking the better way of entertaining and bestowing their attention upon one or two friends at a time. "My dear Curgenvin, do come to lunch on Sunday. We have two pheasants which must be eaten. I am just off to

* "Gilbert Murray At Home", CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1957.

London for a meeting but shall be back by then Yours, G.M."

When in 1889 Gilbert Murray married Lady Mary Howard, Jowett, Master of Balliol, performed the ceremony and his best man was a scholar even more erudite, if possible, than himself. Like him, D S Margoliouth had swept the board of Oxford prizes, and his learning in the classical and oriental languages and literatures was to become legendary. For many years he was Laudian Professor of Arabic, moving from residence in Oxford to Boar's Hill in 1931. When he offered to drive me down to dine in New College, of which he was an honorary fellow, friends were kind enough to warn me that I should be carrying my life in my hands, but though there were some hair's-breadth moments we came through without misadventure. Of Jewish extraction, he had been ordained into the Church of England. It is alleged that, persuaded on some rare occasion to preach in a village church, he bewildered his bucolic congregation with, "you may feel tempted to retort upon me in the words of Irenaeus." He bore about him some marks of his Eastern origin, being, in Gilbert Murray's description in the DNB, "of exotic and vivid appearance, with a deep, bell-like voice." He died in 1940.

Dame Ellen Pinsent came of a family eminent in the law, being sister to the late Lord Justice Parker and aunt to the present Lord Chief Justice. Lady Adrian is her daughter. Her public career had included a seat on the Birmingham City Council, which had brought her into contact with the Chamberlains, and work for the mentally afflicted, culminating in a Commissionership of the Board of Control. When I came to know her she was in her seventies, her austere spare frame housing an incisive and questing mind nourished by much reading and discussion. It was a virile mind, guided by the dry light of rationalism. If Boar's Hill was the Highbrow of Oxford, Dame Ellen's big living-room had some claim to be the cerebral centre, for on her initiative and invitation we gathered there for a variety of more or less intellectual exercises. I recall two Brains Trusts, home-made from local material, and a series of talks followed by discussions on questions of the hour. Dons like Mr A B Emden, Principal of "Teddy Hall", and Canon Adam Fox, Professor of Poetry, would come up and address us. Another contributor was a near neighbour of Dame Ellen's, Sir Reginald Coupland, Beit Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth, a benevolent bachelor whose name is gratefully remembered for services rendered to the communal life of Wootton village, in which his house lay. Equally ready to further any good cause was another neighbour, Sir Francis Wylie, retired from the Wardenship of Rhodes House, which he had held with great distinction for 28 years. Warmly seconded by Lady Wylie, happily still with us, he lost no opportunity of keeping in touch with the long succession of Rhodes scholars who had passed through his hands. He reached his eighties with no perceptible abatement of mental alertness. At an age when most men are not averse from a little cossetting he took his morning dip in the Youlbury lake.

Lady Keeble, formerly Mrs Granville Barker, was Lillah McCarthy, the actress who had surprisingly taken leading parts both in Wilson Barrett's melodramas at the Adelphi and in Bernard Shaw's plays. Sir

Frederick Keeble, FRS, was a botanist employed by Imperial Chemicals as a scientific adviser. They had transported a huge tithe barn to a field on the southern slopes of Boar's Hill, converting it into a house in its way a showpiece and surrounding it with a garden containing many choice shrubs and a swimming pool. From time to time we were invited to Hamels to hear poets read a selection from their works, among them Laurence Binyon, Humbert Wolfe and Walter de la Mare. Wolfe read his play *Oberammergau* with much dramatic expression, the other two poets made a poor show as elocutionists. Copies of their latest work were on sale, with the inducement to buy one that the author would autograph. When I took de la Mare's *The Fleeting* to him for this purpose I said, as he wrote his name in it, "I feel the book is now worth double what I've paid for it." "Only *double*!" he exclaimed in shocked tones.

One by one they have all departed, these notables of the nineteen thirties. It cannot be gainsaid that the wind of post-war change has been blowing over us. Symbolically enough, Arthur Evans's rambling mansion has been pulled down. Some other houses have passed out of private hands. It may be that the golden days of Boar's Hill must be numbered among the war's casualties. But comparisons detrimental to the conditions of today form no part of my design. Creatures other than human still keep their ancient places. In Bagley Wood the nightingales sing, a pair of magpies have nested in my little oak wood, from which I hear a cock pheasant calling. One fine summer's morning I saw a hoopoe, *rara avis* indeed, pickaxing with his long bill on my lawn. The badger forages by night; in Hamels garden a vixen has been spied playing with her cubs. There are blackberries for those who know where to look for them.

LITERATURE—

"MY OWN DEAR BOY"

J. H. BARNETT

IF there is a special place in the afterworld for artists and writers, the recent refurbishing of the Oscar Wilde trials in films, on TV and in books must have commanded a special interest there. The main figure of the drama might well have said "How kind of them to rehabilitate me and try to understand. It is a shame that they cannot reproduce the incomparable." And Lord Alfred Douglas might well add "It is all very well for you, Oscar, but they have made you the hero, and I am the villain. I cannot be recognised at all."

"Don't fret, Bosie," Wilde would reply, "if they cannot capture me, how on earth could they bring your youth and beauty alive? These creatures are only mere shadows of what you were."

But Lord Alfred refuses to be reconciled. Oscar is much as he was at the height of his fame, while Lord Alfred died in 1945, aged 74, with his youth, his beauty and his reputation all gone. As in life, he retires to a corner hurt, muttering imprecations at all those he believes to have

abused him, while Oscar remains the centre of an admiring circle, listening to him as fascinated as when he was a mortal among fellow mortals

Just as Wilde could have escaped his tragedy by fleeing the country after the failure of his libel action against the Marquess of Queensberry, but chose rather to face criminal proceedings, so Lord Alfred could have returned to English society and allowed everything to be forgiven and forgotten. But Wilde's "Own Dear Boy" could not leave well alone. He returned, time and time again, to the revival of the episodes that brought Wilde and himself notoriety at the turn of the century. In books, pamphlets, articles and libel actions he resuscitated the events that both his enemies and friends wished to forget, in an attempt at self-justification that never succeeded. Throughout his life he was the wronged one. His own artistic merits, his own devastating brilliance was not recognised and, despite the ignominy of his downfall, Wilde's was

For years he blackguarded Sir Edward Clarke for not allowing him to go into the witness box in the Queensberry libel action or as a defence witness for Wilde in the criminal prosecutions. Clarke made it clear beyond doubt that Douglas in the witness box would have been damaging to Wilde's case. In the libel action, the pathological antipathy between Lord Alfred and his father would not have been admissible as evidence and, in the criminal actions, the tirade against Queensberry, which was all Douglas had to offer, would have been equally unhelpful at a time when Queensberry was the hero of the hour.

For the remainder of his life, after Wilde's death, Douglas was torn between feelings of guilt, hate and envy towards Oscar, whose reputation, even in death, outshone his own. He was bitter because his own undoubted ability as a poet did not receive the recognition he felt was its due, jealous, because he was not the centre of the same adulation that the scintillating Oscar had enjoyed; hating, because others had been closer to Wilde at the time of his imprisonment and he unable to help, sheltering abroad in fear of being prosecuted as Wilde had been.

In 1914 Douglas published a book called *Oscar Wilde and Myself*. It was nasty and crude, full of vilification of Wilde and utterly distorting facts to justify himself. Later Douglas recanted, placing the blame on T. W. H. Crosland, a journalist with a taste for invective that has rarely been equalled. Douglas had come under his spell when Crosland did the work and he took the kudos for editing a literary publication called *The Academy*. His relationship with Crosland was as turbulent as those he had had with both his father and Wilde, on occasions adoring, at others affecting the most utter repugnance.

The publication of the book had followed an unsuccessful libel action taken by Douglas against Arthur Ransome for statements made in a critical study of Wilde. Douglas complained that the publication made it appear that he was responsible for Wilde's downfall and that after their reunion in Naples, some time after Wilde's release from prison, he had abandoned Wilde and left him penniless. Lord Alfred's real intention was to disgrace Robert Ross, Wilde's friend and literary executor, to whom the book had been dedicated and who had provided the facts on which

it was based Douglas was probably further incensed because he was not even mentioned in the book by name.

His motives in bringing the action were probably mixed. He looked upon libel actions as a means of raising money and at the same time saw himself "starring" in the witness box and outshining Wilde's performances there.

On this occasion he chose the wrong grounds on which to fight. Portions of *De Profundis*, Wilde's bitter letter to "Dear Bosie", written in the agony and misery of prison life, were read out in Court. Embarrassed, Douglas fled from the witness box, to be ordered back next day to hear "You had no motives in life, appetites merely, the gutter had begun to fascinate you, absolute ruin of my art; unscrupulous, grasping, ungracious always," as Lewis Broad reports in *The Truth About Oscar Wilde*.

Douglas claimed that he had never seen Wilde's letter before. But there is some doubt as to whether this was truly exposure beyond the grave. While in prison, Wilde had given instructions that three copies were to be typed and that one of these was to be sent to Douglas. Unknown to Wilde, under Victorian prison regulations, the manuscripts he wrote were held by the prison governor until his release and then given to Robert Ross, whom Wilde had named as his literary executor. Ross claimed to have sent a copy to Douglas, but Lord Alfred denied having received it. Even so, his legal counsel had copies of that part of *De Profundis* being presented as evidence, and Douglas could easily have withdrawn the action.

Ross handed over a full copy of the letter to the British Museum with instructions that it was not to be released for publication till 1960. Time and time again Douglas fulminated against its possession by the Museum. Addressed to him it was his property, and the Museum had no right to take possession of it.

For years Lord Alfred pursued his enmity of Ross and others who had, like himself, been friends of Wilde. With T. W. H. Crosland he sought evidence to prove that Ross was guilty of sodomy. Ross brought charges against both of them and, while Douglas remained abroad, Crosland returned to England from France to justify their actions on a charge of "conspiracy". Protracted proceedings resulted in Crosland's acquittal, but any damage to Ross's reputation did not last long. He became revered in literary circles for his services to Wilde's memory, including his posthumous discharging, with interest, of Wilde's bankruptcy. Asquith appointed him Assessor of Picture Valuations to the Board of Trade.

Douglas returned to England, claiming Crosland's victory to be his own. Other legal actions were also successful, most particularly one against the *Evening News*, which had mistakenly printed an obituary of Douglas on a false report of his death. Douglas netted £1,000.

By this time Douglas had become completely irrational, tilting at wind-mills with less idealistic cause than Don Quixote. He had developed a mania against the Establishment, equating his own disappointment in life with Government and international conspiracies against the general good.

In 1920 he founded a paper called *Plain English*. Possibly inspired

by his association with T W H Crosland, Douglas acquired a vicious anti-Semitic bent. In that year Crosland had published a book called *The Fine Old Hebrew Gentleman*, a political tirade castigating Sir Ernest Cassel, Lord Rothschild, the Marquess of Reading and Lloyd-George, and contesting *The Times'* view that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was a forgery. Its only value today is as bedside reading for those addicted to Fascism and anti-Jewish propaganda, for whom it provides a natural pattern for their brand of irrational invective. Douglas's anti-Semitism was probably compounded by his guilt complex of being unable to help Wilde when the latter was most sorely tried, in the period when Wilde was allowed bail on the failure of the jury to agree after the first Crown prosecution against him. Ada Levenson, the writer "Sphinx", and her husband, and Adele Shuster helped Wilde both financially and materially at this period, the Levensons putting their home at his disposal when Queensberry and his supporters hounded him throughout London. Douglas's anti-Jewish prejudices landed him in gaol and he retained his bitterness against Jews till the end of his days.

Plain English accused the Government of falsifying the true story of the Battle of Jutland at the behest of international Jewish finance, with Sir Ernest Cassel as the chief villain and Winston Churchill as his chief tool in the enterprise. In the first instance Churchill did not prosecute, feeling that criticism from such a quarter invalidated itself. Douglas instituted a libel action against *The Morning Post* which at first had supported his accusations, then retracted following correspondence in its pages. A sensational trial followed with Churchill giving evidence and Lord Balfour, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty at the time of the Jutland battle, giving evidence by affidavit. Douglas won the action on technical grounds and was awarded a farthing damages. Although he had anticipated making a thousand pounds, Lord Alfred saw himself as justified and victorious. He repeated the accusations and extended them in a public speech in Scotland, providing the text to the Editor of *The Border Standard*, an admirer of both Crosland and Douglas, both of whom he thought to be great poets. Douglas had the speech re-published as a pamphlet and, through the Attorney-General, Churchill took legal action. The principal witness for Douglas was an ex-army officer, whom Douglas named as the source of his information. The man turned out to be a crank who had been deprived of his rank, twice convicted by the civil power, sentenced to six months' imprisonment for libel and three times certified as insane. Douglas was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and *The Times* wrote of the verdict —

"There will be general agreement with the verdict of the jury who tried the case against Lord Alfred Douglas. To those who have watched the career of the man, it (six months' imprisonment) will be regarded as a moderate sentence. For years, in newspapers and in circulars and in pamphlets, he has conducted a campaign of irresponsible calumny regardless of facts and intrepid in defamatory invective. At last he has been laid by the heels in quite a gentle way, but in a way which we hope—not with great confidence—will teach him a lesson."

The Times proved to be right. In prison, although his sentence was

only a quarter of Wilde's and the conditions much less arduous, Douglas again played out his parody on Wilde's martyrdom and produced his own parallel to *De Profundis*. In poetic form he wrote his own apologia, *In Excelsis*, which was marred by outbursts of arrogance, anti-Semitism and similar bile.

By this time Lord Alfred's beauty had begun to fade. He was no longer the incarnation of *Dorian Grey* that Wilde had discovered after he had published his book of the young man whose beauty lasted till the end of his days. No longer would he be refused admission to the Casino at Monte Carlo because he looked less than a lad of sixteen. With the notoriety, too, and less luck in litigation and gambling, of which he was inordinately fond, no longer could he be found, the undischarged bankrupt, whom Crossland described as being with never less than fifty pounds in his pocket.

Throughout his life he always believed that the world owed him a living, because of his birth, breeding and brilliance—a condition which the world had always been ready to give him. He received nearly £20,000 on his father's death, ran through it all, and eloped with an heiress to a moderate fortune, whom he later discarded when she lost her looks, but who remained enamoured of him to the end of her days. Friends no longer gave him literary appointments or financed his publications, although his books on Wilde and his poetry continued to sell.

Till his dying day he did not understand the value of money, nor could he see any faults in his own conduct or behaviour. If he had been more discreet about his relationship with Wilde and had not wished to flaunt it to antagonize his deranged father, his and Wilde's tragedy might never have occurred. He courted it even at a time when his father was ready to accept Wilde as a suitable friend for him. Lunching one day with Wilde at the Café Royal, Lord Alfred saw his father and begged him to join their table. Wilde performed a miracle. He charmed Queensberry, who withdrew everything he had previously said about Wilde and wrote to his son, saying: "I don't wonder you are so fond of him; he is a wonderful man." But even at the time of effecting the reconciliation Douglas could not forgo his jealousy of Wilde and retired in a huff, feeling out of the conversation.

The Times obituary sets the seal on "My Own Dear Boy", the master of the sonnet who never fulfilled himself.

"To have been identified with the fallen playwright (Wilde) was naturally a misfortune for a young man on the threshold of life, but the world would doubtless have forgotten soon enough if Douglas had permitted it to do so. Unhappily for himself, however, he persisted in believing that his fellowmen bore enmity against him. Thus he wasted a noble talent upon an episode which by then was scarcely known except in historical reference to the younger generation and was remembered with little interest by the great majority of his contemporaries. The Wilde scandal not only embittered his life but may well have helped to warp his nature. Thus he became quarrelsome and almost fiercely litigious."

The Times was perhaps being kind. He was quarrelsome before he ever met Wilde and tried to tempt his father into personal litigation. His relationship with his father perhaps provides the key to his life. Himself

Concluded on Page 158

HISTORY

SCHOLAR AMONG POLITICIANS

A. F. ALINGTON

WILLIAM WINDHAM (1750-1810) touched the life of his times at many points, but influenced it little. Politician, scholar, athlete, devotee of the theatre, man of fashion, he knew most of his famous contemporaries from George III to Mrs Jordan, from Pitt to Tom Cribb, from the beautiful Mrs Crewe to Cobbett, and most of them liked and admired him—and wondered. For he was unusual. Though one of the foremost orators of his day, considered by some the equal of Fox and Pitt, he could enter the House to make a charge against Warren Hastings, belated and in dread, with “a face the colour of a lemon” and “carrying hell about with him in his mind”. He could oppose publicly the idea of national honours for Pitt immediately after the Prime Minister’s death, support bull-baiting and the Slave Trade, and reprobate parochial schools.

A Whig, he served in Pitt’s Cabinet in opposition to Fox, and later declined to join Pitt’s Administration because Fox was to be excluded. A Whig, he opposed all measures of reform, except Catholic emancipation. A Whig by tradition, persuasion and friendship, he was a Tory by instinct and circumstance. He endured agonies of amorous uncertainty in youth, and did not marry until the age of 48. He quelled a militia mutiny single-handed, set out on the polar expedition, in which Nelson, aged 14, took part, and returned soon after starting, went up in a balloon at a time when human aeronautics were only one year old, came under fire, though a civilian, at the siege of Valenciennes, was painted by Reynolds and Hoppner, refused a peerage twice and wrote three mathematical treatises. He was hurriedly withdrawn from Eton to forestall expulsion after a battle with the butchers of Windsor. There was a moment when his great friend Gilbert Elliot could write, “Windham stands higher at present both in the House and in the country than any man I can remember”. There was a moment too, it seems, when he might have become Prime Minister.

Thomas Grenville thought him “the perfect model of an English gentleman”. Sir James Mackintosh, after praising his wit, knowledge, honour and “loftiness of sentiment”, added, “but he was an indiscreet debater, who sacrificed his interest as a statesman to his momentary feelings as an orator”. For the sake of a new subtlety or a forcible phrase, he was content to utter what loaded him with permanent unpopularity. Singular as it may sound, he often opposed novelties from a love of paradox. Yet, for all his versatility, his position, his charm, his integrity, he receives a bare reference or two in any modern history of the period. He was a great man *manqué*—and an enigma.

Though temperamentally a recluse, his circle of acquaintance was wide. He was a neighbour of Coke and first visited Holkham when the agricultural experiments in that harsh landscape were eight years old. Here, Coke, who had regularly drunk the health of Washington during the American War of Independence, lived among his Titians, Holbeins and Van Dycks, and here Windham skated in crisp weather on the pond at the back of the large white house and gloated over the books and manuscripts collected by the great Lord Chief Justice—13th century Psalter, Coverdale Bible, Venetian Virgil and 2nd folio Shakespeare. Here, Windham attended a gigantic Whig festival to celebrate the revolution of 1688 on November 5, 1788. Above the pavement of the portico flared a vast Prince of Wales’ feathers in buff and blue. Above the door of the great salon was the inscription *Liberty and our Cause*. At 10 o’clock park and lake were illuminated and a two-hour firework display began, watched by Coke’s guests and 5,000 people from the neighbourhood, the latter invigorated by 40 barrels of beer set round an enormous bonfire. At

2 o'clock there was supper and afterwards they danced till 6 Then Windham rode home 25 miles to Felbrigg

But after Windham took office under Pitt and became a whole-hearted supporter of the war against France, Coke broke with him Later, however, they stood together for Norfolk, when many of the county electors shared Coke's earlier opinion and nick-named Windham "the Weathercock" An election poster read—

"Just arrived in Norfolk . . . the renowned

William Weathercock . . .

A wonderful animal of the Chameleon kind . . .

It changes colour not only upon any ground

but frequently upon none at all . . . "

They were elected, but the election was declared null and void, owing to an alleged offence against the Treating Acts

He admired, championed and corresponded with Mrs Siddons On his death Mrs Jordan wrote to the Duke of Clarence, "I am sorry Windham is dead. He was one of my first and greatest supporters, and the approbation of such a man is worth all the applause of an audience of blockheads". He saw two performances by Master Betty, the twelve-year-old "Young Roscius", who reduced Pitt to tears, and caused such a struggle for entry into Covent Garden that the Brigade of Guards had to be called in Windham's comment was . . . "his recitation just, but his countenance not expressive" The young prodigy's countenance was not only not expressive, it was common and adenoidal

This taste for the stage manifested itself early At Eton Windham and Fox were flogged for breaking out and going to the theatre together Fox greeted Windham's maiden speech by congratulating the House "on the accession of abilities which they had witnessed" At Newmarket, once, they discussed whether long ears were a merit in a horse, Fox quoting Virgil and Windham Xenophon in support of their arguments Then the French Revolution came to tear their friendship temporarily apart, and Windham had to choose between Fox and Burke.

Windham was anxiously sympathetic with Fanny Burney during the sickness which led to her release from the position of lady-in-waiting, and he held long conversations with her during the trial of Warren Hastings, for which he was a Manager Looking down upon Hastings from Miss Burney's gallery seat in the great hall, Windham, according to Fanny Burney—always the novelist—apostrophised Hastings thus,

" 'What a sight is that! To see that man, that small portion of human clay, that poor feeble machine of earth, enclosed now in that little space, brought to that bar, a prisoner in a spot six foot square—and to reflect on his late power! Nations at his command! Princes prostrate at his feet! What a change! How he must feel it! How memorable will be this day . . . that brings to the great tribunal of the nation a man whose power, so short a time since, was of equal magnitude with his crimes! ' "

But the two great friendships of Windham's life were for the two greatest minds of his time, Dr Johnson and Edmund Burke From Burke, whom he adored, except for occasional irritation at that most irritating of men, he derived or confirmed many of his political tenets. Not even Burke hated the Revolution and its principles more than his disciple, Windham. He shared Burke's views on the divinity of the British constitution as inherited from 1688, and the national trusteeship of this British heritage vested in the aristocracy who must protect it from Crown and commons alike As Windham's star rose, Burke's was fading He retired to Beaconsfield, but had not long to live Windham was with him during his last days, when he was, he said, *Vox et praeterea nihil* After he died, Windham wrote in his diary, "news that . . . that great light of the world, Mr Burke, was no more" And to Mrs Burke " . . . It is the whole world, and not you alone, My dear Madam that is in a state of widowhood . . . "

To Dr Johnson Windham owed, in part, a deep but reasoned faith in Christianity, a deeper faith in the over-riding importance of the mind—one of his chief lamentations was caused by his inability to control his thoughts and keep his analytical mind razor-sharp—the regular writing up of his diary and, perhaps, also, the sympathy of a brother neurotic. Johnson thought highly of him. As the Doctor's life drew towards its painful end, Windham was particularly devoted. A few months before his death Johnson wrote, "Mr. Windham has been here to see me, he came, I think, forty miles out of his way, and staid about a day and a half. . . Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of Literature; and there Windham is *inter stellas Luna minores*" Windham was a pall bearer at Johnson's funeral with other members of the Literary Club.

With such friends, such opportunities, such gifts, why was Windham's career so abortive? The diary which Johnson urged him to keep points to the answer. This diary is both obscure and revealing, revealing in that it was his confessional, maddeningly obscure in that it provides little information about his politics or political motives. It does, however, throw some light on the intricacies of his character—and on his early affairs of the heart.

His amours, the more intimate moments of which are recorded in the diary in Greek or Greek script, were characteristically complex and probably platonic. Of three or four concurrent sweet-hearts his favourite was "Mrs B", Mrs Byng, wife of the Hon John Byng, a lovable old curmudgeon who got his wife with child and then went off on riding tours. For a time there seems to have been a curious existence *à trois*, somewhat reminiscent of the more exalted *ménage* of Chatsworth and Devonshire House, though without any of those unfortunate consequences that necessitated the periodic excursions of Lady Elizabeth Foster to the continent. "Mrs B's" ill-health and recurring pregnancies may have been responsible for this happier state of affairs, but more probably Windham's innate chivalry and his astonishing gift for vacillation.

Windham's relationship with Mrs Byng occasioned much enjoyable "passionate agitation", as he called it. "I went up to Mrs B and said *that to her*, notwithstanding the time I had had to *consider which threw her into an agony that forced her to go into the next room*. . . For the remainder of the evening till my going away in pretty good spirits talked a good deal and gave *signs of profound love*. *Mrs B as attentive and as expressive in looks etc. as ego could wish*. . . ' (Italicised words in Greek script)

Among Mrs Byng's sisters was Cecilia, "Cecy", whose heart was almost broken by Windham's great friend, George Cholmondeley, a dissolute-looking young man who ran a Faro bank at Brooks's and later married three wives, none of them being Cecy. At the age of 48, however, she was consoled by marriage to William Windham who was the same age. He kept it all a great secret, is reported to have mislaid the ring at the wedding, and to have driven round afterwards until midnight trying to find somewhere to sleep, having forgotten the way to Reigate. Gilbert Elliot described Cecy to his "John Bull wife"—"She is a tall, showy woman, something in the Siddons style of figure and dimensions, with a remarkably sensible as well as pleasing countenance and an engaging manner."

The descriptions in his diary of Windham's states of mind are significant. "This habit of indecision if some means are not found to stop its progress and abate its malignity, will corrupt and eat away my understanding to the very core, it wastes my time, consumes my strength, converts comfort into vexation and distress, deprives me of various pleasures, and involves me in innumerable difficulties". One summer evening he sat considering a problem for two hours so earnestly that he found himself in a state bordering on paralysis. At one time he became obsessed with fear of the loneliness of life-long bachelorhood, at another of losing his memory because he could not recall the names of the wife of the artist, Cosway, and of Lord Fitzwilliam's huntsman. When his mother died he blamed himself

bitterly for not having visited her more frequently, and he remained in the house of death all night "dwelling on the image of my mother as she lay on her bed". He went sometimes to the Commons fully prepared to speak, and then failed to do so. "My infatuation in not speaking exceeds all that I have ever known in myself. The loss to me is something incalculable and my regret is such that I know not what to do with myself. It breaks my slumbers and makes me incapable of doing anything . . ."

It is a revelation of a torturing self-mistrust, which would have yielded rich veins of neuroses to the psycho-analyst. Three facts may have accentuated this formidable diffidence and irresolution and a melancholia far too deep-seated to be merely fashionable. His mother married his father three months before his birth; his father died when he was only 10, and he had a very serious illness as a young man caused by riding through a stream "in a sort of frolic".

Five years after he entered Parliament, the French Revolution involved him in agonizing conflict and indecision. The Whigs began to fall apart. Burke put a dramatic end to his friendship with Fox and strained his friendship with Windham. Democratic ideas spread, and Windham opposed Flood's and Grey's motions for parliamentary reform. The Portland Whigs, including Windham, voted for Pitt, but Portland could not bring himself to break finally with Fox, often failed in leadership, and burst into tears when his followers remonstrated. Against his will Windham had to assume responsibility. "If I were a man of ambition and activity and talents for such a situation", he wrote, "now is the time when I might become a great leader".

When the war began Windham said that "there might exist critical circumstances of the country in which to support administration was the first duty of men of every party. Such was the case at present." Coalition was in the air, but, though tempted by the offer of ministerial rank, Windham hesitated at Felbrigg, with baggage packed and chaise ready, until he went off to Valenciennes to have a look at the war for himself. He arrived in time to see a flag of truce being borne into the lines; however, it was not the surrender of the town, but a request for permission for Mme de Silley to leave Valenciennes for Paris. For 20 minutes Windham chatted amicably to a M. Petit in no-man's-land, then they drank to each other's health and parted, enemies once more. He visited the trenches, came under cannon fire, saw a sergeant's head blown off, but was so cool that "I could have multiplied a sum in my head". Then he had to decide whether to take part in the final assault on the town: he decided against and was tortured with doubt for long after.

On his return to London he continued to vacillate. "The thought of any closer connection" (with the government) "is one from which I shrink with perfect dread". Calls to action came from Elliot, Pitt and Burke who wrote, "For God's sake, come to town. You cannot withdraw yourself from the world, now in the vigour of your youth and faculties, without a crime". But Windham remained at Felbrigg, fencing with his nephew, looking at French prisoners, and writing to Mrs. Crewe, to whom he accurately described himself as "a politician among scholars and a scholar among politicians".

At length, however, the Portland Whigs joined the Administration, Windham sacrificed inclination to duty and became Secretary-at-War and a member of the Cabinet. But, characteristically, he was fighting a different war from his colleagues: he and Burke were supporting the Royalist cause in a French civil war. His imagination was fired by the resistance movement in Brittany and La Vendée. To support this movement, and later the similar movement in Spain, with British troops and the Fleet remained his favoured strategy to the end of his life—and who shall say that he was wrong? But owing to muddle, lack of conviction and inefficiency British support for the Chouans misfired. A ghastly fiasco occurred on the Quiberon peninsula when a Royalist army and the local guerrillas were faced

with a choice between sea and the enemy's steel, thanks to treachery, mismanagement, internecine jealousies and superior Republican generalship. Windham held himself responsible for this tragic failure

Burke started a school at Penn for the sons of French emigrant nobles, and chiefly for the orphans of Quiberon. The sixty boys wore a blue uniform with a white cockade in their hats. Those who had lost a father wore "a bloody label", an uncle, a black label. Burke visited the school every day. As late as 1903 a field near Penn was known as "French School Field"

After years of muddle, tribulation and glory Pitt's government went out on the Catholic emancipation issue, and the King sent a message that "his Retiring shall in no ways diminish in His Majesty the real value He entertains for the upright Character Mr Windham has ever borne". Windham told Lady Malmesbury that he thought it "all a sad story", kissed her hand "more tenderly than ever", and "was like a bird set free". He had been in office six years.

He came back again after the peace "which passeth all understanding", to which he was so avidly opposed that Napoleon considered him the arch English war-monger. He was Secretary-of-State for War and the Colonies in the Ministry of All the Talents. It was a bad moment—Pitt dead, Nelson dead, Austerlitz, Ulm. but with Trafalgar on the credit side and little fear of invasion. The invasion scare had enabled Windham to leave almost his sole mark on his country. The Martello towers which he advocated were erected along the coast.

Once back in office he was able to introduce his own army reforms, in place of inveighing against other peoples'. In brief, they provided for shorter terms of service and increases of pay. The King and the Dukes of York and Clarence objected to the reforms, and, not long after, his successor, Castlereagh, greatly improved on them.

Windham had other military fiascos to his discredit. Buenos Aires had been captured without orders and with one casualty. The local inhabitants promptly recaptured the city, but the reinforcements sent out to re-capture it were slaughtered in the streets. Then there was a plan to invade Mexico, and—an expedition especially dear to Windham's heart—an army was to sail round Cape Horn, capture Chile, cross the Andes and join up with British forces in the Argentine! Fortunately, this lunatic enterprise did not eventuate. But there was a small land victory during his term of office, that of Maida, which Windham for its glory compared in the House to Crecy, Poitiers or Agincourt.

Not long after, the Government again met the King's obstinate refusal to countenance Catholic emancipation and was dismissed, provoking Sheridan's famous bon-mot—he had often heard, he said, of men running their heads against a wall, but never before of men building a wall especially for that purpose.

So Windham was comparatively free once more. He read aloud to Cecy a new poem called *Marmion*, watched a 23-round fight between Gregson and Cribb, visited Miss Berry's salon, thought about negative signs in Mathematics, and was afflicted with violent nose-bleeding.

Walking home near midnight from a party he noticed flames coming from the house of his absent friend, Frederick North. Taking a few men with him he broke into the house in order to save the valuable library. While working he fell and hurt his hip. After four hours the flames forced them to give up.

He felt violently about the Old Prices riots at Covent Garden theatre, and even more violently about the tragic Walcheren expedition. "They marched the British army to its grave, to be extinguished amidst the pestilential air of Walcheren, to go out like a candle in a vault." He was nearly as rude about the Press as about ministers. This and the exclusion of the Press from the galleries of the House led the British Forum, a debating society, to advertise a meeting to discuss this "insidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the Press". As a result the President of

the British Forum was committed to Newgate and Sir Francis Burdett who protested was ordered to be committed to the Tower. The London mob broke out in force, cavalry and Foot Guards were summoned, and Windham recorded in his diary "... found Life Guards in Piccadilly hunted by and hunting the mob". When the Sergeant-at-arms at length gained entry to Burdett's house he found his prisoner hearing his son construe Magna Charta

Soon after Windham had to undergo a serious operation. A tumour had grown in his hip as the result of his fall during the fire in North's house. He submitted courageously to the surgeon's knife, of course without anaesthetic, even joking about "the language of the vulgar in similar circumstances". He never really recovered, though he lingered on for some days, and Pall Mall was filled with the carriages of those (mostly ladies) who came to enquire.

He was buried in the church at Felbrigg among his ancestors.

In the Windham papers in the British Museum there is a manuscript epitaph which begins,

"Ye sacred stones, by English mourners prest
Where Fox and Chatham's son in concord rest
Open your vaults, and at their honour'd side
Place the third prop of England's falling pride . . ."

At the back of this manuscript is a torn scrap of a letter on which these words are visible,

"afflicted yours Cecilia Windham"

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VIGNETTE—

CONCERNING MY GRANDMOTHER'S FRONT DOOR

DONALD BRUCE

AS my grandmother's front door had been commented on for miles around, even in Ystradgynlais, it was natural that several different explanations were offered for it. Down some privy little cul-de-sac—some Fairmead or Strawberry Close with its variegated tiles, honeymoon-resort name-plates and general effect of being managed by the fairies—the stained glass and Yale lock would have been unremarkable enough. Pitched under an apocalyptic Welsh sky, in a lone farmhouse which from its eminence outstared a narrow twist of valley, the door was like an intervention in human affairs. It was as if it had been transported, like the house of Loretto, across the upper air, manhandled by angels across the Baroque scene-shifting of the clouds. The door was the odder for having been installed whilst the limed passages still echoed with childhood, long before the suitable harshness of the farm's exterior had been mollified by adding pink to the white-wash, a practice which my grandmother condemned.

One suggestion for its presence was that, so far as my grandmother's inclinations were discernable at all, she liked the play of church-like light, the quietude of ochre and green, when the sun touched the pallid walls and the flagstones through the coloured panes. Almost as plausible was the story that my grandmother had ordered the door without seeing it, from a catalogue, and had chosen the most expensive door on the assumption that it would last the longest. Another shrewd speculation was based on the fact that a front door, to my grandmother, was a ceremonial article, and opened only once or twice a year on occasions of importance. By erecting so awe-inspiring a door she would frighten even the hardest of postmen round to the back-kitchen. Nobody ventured to ask her directly what the reason for the door was, and since there was no pronouncement, everyone felt entitled to his own opinion. Mine differed from those which I have mentioned.

People from the village came up the mountainside on Sunday walks, taking very little account of the waterfall which blackguarded down to the valley with an heroic insouciance—the ample ferns high enough to be recruited into the hedge—the quiet refulgence of lupins on the garden wall, on which the stones and wash had been weathered together into knuckly contortions. They spoke civilly to my grandmother, noted that the door was still there, and returned pleased to the valley. There, by the trough donated with a farcical aptness by a Temperance Society to satisfy the harmless thirst of cattle, they could round off the day's contemplation by watching the last bus, like the mechanism of a zip-fastener, draw together the splayed inhabitants. Meanwhile we children lay in the ferns, pillowed and encompassed by an inoffensive green, and I read a chance copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* which I had bought at Swansea market. I half-believed the untwisting romance of chivalry, and almost expected to see Una and her lion, Sir Artegall and his Iron Man, rounding some corner of the mouldering path overhung with nettles and foxgloves. Or I would pick up the grass-stained and insect-specked book, and follow a hinted causeway through the sun-blond grass, with a tilt of ears under it and then, not after all a gentle knight pricking on the plain, but a scuttling mountain pony.

So I would return to the house, where, since it was Sunday, I could read nothing but the Bible. I liked the Book of Revelation best. It was full of action and all marked in red. On the walls of the parlour Daniel postured in the lions' den, Jesus said no to the devil and my great-grandmother looked solemn in spite of a frivolous hat. The horsehair sofa chafed the backs of my bare knees, and under the sofa the sheepdog drummed obsequiously with his tail. I wondered if the punishment of

the boys who made fun of Elisha was not unnecessarily severe, and would have liked to ask my grandmother what she thought, but a single look at her squat and decisive face, as she murmured to herself the words of the newspaper which she was reading, daunted me. The stars came up to track the cloudy plateaus, and the moon, faithful bondsman to the Earth (like the Iron Man to Sir Artega), trudged round it at a respectful distance. I went to bed. Under the pollen-bangled foliage of the elms, pale and stalky as an old lady's hands, the frogs splashed by starlight.

For my grandmother Sunday had been a day of strenuous repose, with even the vegetables for the day's meals cleaned the night before. On Monday she resumed her command of the old struggle with the mountain. The soil was thin and the crops had to be teased and coaxed out of the ground. Year by year the wild growth advanced, boundaries were given up, the flint walls closed in nearer and nearer the house. Everything was dedicated to the fight. She considered it a cockney affectation to call the waterfall beautiful. She was quite certain that it was ugly, because it dried up in the summer when it was needed, and in the winter overspilled its bounds, heaving-ho down its channel with the unsteady relish of a drunkard. No honeysuckle ever showed its head upon her fences without losing it, for honeysuckle was a notorious breaker of fences. She liked to grow roses, partly as a piece of bravado at the expense of the foe, but did not care to have flowers in the house. Things in a house should be godly or have a purpose, she thought. Over the kitchen fireplace, the centre of all activity indoors, a Mater Dolorosa clasped the foot of the cross. Three of my grandmother's children had died. My grandmother understood the tightness of Mary's locked fingers round the beam, the grief when one cannot weep but it is best to hold on to something, the loss of children. She had concluded that the realities of life left little time for such vanities as flowers in a vase. Nevertheless, condoning frailty in others, every Easter she sent my mother a tin box of dampened lilac, the scent of which evoked a whole girlhood. But for her own part, my grandmother would not even accept a cushion for the wooden armchair in which she used to sit with her scarred tom-cat (last of a line of hard fighters) presuming successfully upon of her broad but hunched shoulders. Not until a gentle old age had started to rub out her original identity with the phant caress of an indiarubber.

All this made the front door seem the more out of place. Yet all this, I fancy, was in fact why it was there. Like her expert small-beer (which sent the postman on his way swinging his satchel and singing hymns), like the particular benevolence with which she treated a certain crippled hen even though it lay crooked eggs, the door was a sudden turn of almost humorous defiance to the ferocity of her landscape. The oyster is a sober enough creature, not given to display, but it has been known to produce, amid its half-grudging hidden folds, its own single shamefaced frivolity.

"MY OWN DEAR BOY"—*continued from Page 150*

a man with literary bent, boyish and poetically sensitive, spoiled by his mother and castigated by his father, living in a household where the erratic Marquess ruled chaotically, viciously and madly, he sought artistic solace and found it in the brilliance of Wilde's circle. For the remainder of his life he continued to seek it. And even in the artistic after-world, if it exists, he is condemned to the periphery of Wilde's dazzling glow. Surely forgiven, as he was time and time again by Wilde, the man who could not hate, he can only nurse his own spoilt nature, with fame perhaps dependent on a few sonnets retained in good anthologies. For him not the hero's part in *The Trials of Lord Alfred Douglas*, but to many, including Bernard Shaw, always "Dear Boy" to the end of his days.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

REPUTATIONS AND OPINIONS

The Ordeal of Consciousness in Henry James Dorothea Krook Cambridge University Press 45s.

The Achievement of E M Forster. J B Beer. Chatto & Windus 25s

Arnold the Poet H. C. Duffin Bowes & Bowes 21s

A Guide to English Literature, Vol 5, From Blake to Byron Ed Boris Ford Cassell 15s.

There can be no half-measures in our attitude to Henry James and his writings. Either we like his novels and are willing delightedly to go all the way with them, however tortuous we find his later approach and style, or we leave him and them alone and browse in less tangled pastures. In his famous correspondence with H G Wells the author of 'The Golden Bowl' said, "It is art that *makes* life and I know of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process." His preoccupation with the art of oblique and involved character delineation in fiction became so intense in his later writings that many readers and critics found him exhausting, tiresome and tedious. Dr Leavis diagnosed in James's method and performance an "hypertrophy of sensibility." On the other hand, one of the subtlest of modern critics, Mr T S Eliot, wrote in 1924, "The example which Henry James offered us was not that of a style to imitate, but an integrity so great, a vision so exacting, that it was forced to the extreme of care and punctiliousness for exact expression. James did not provide us with 'ideas', but with another world of thought and feeling." And, comparing him with Dostoevsky, Mr Eliot claimed that the spirit of Henry James "is no less profound, and is more useful, more applicable to our future."

James's latest assessor, Dr Krook, Lecturer in English in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the author of *Three Traditions of Moral Thought*, brings her fine intellectual equipment to the task of exploring the novelist's artistic purpose, material and method. In more than 400 pages she presents a detailed appraisal of seven of the major novels and some of the tales. She recognises the limitations of James's social material—the moneyed classes of 19th-century America and those of Edwardian England, and the decaying aristocracies of France and Italy—and then examines how he treated that material. It is useless to object that the Western world contained other classes, worthy of a novelist's consideration, what used to be called the masses or 'the lower orders'. James, like Jane Austen with the provincial middle-classes of her day, was concerned only with the world he knew and understood and one of the most illuminating of Dr Krook's explanations of his diligent concern with millionaires and heiresses is that they have in his novels "exactly the same dramatic function as the kings, queens and princes in Shakespeare's plays: they are the acknowledged symbols of supreme power and prestige in their society"—they possess money, "the supreme instrument of power in the modern world."

The devotee of Henry James, however, may decide that these considerations are irrelevant in his critical enjoyment of the novels. Whether their characters are representative or not they exist as creations projected by James's highly idiosyncratic handling of the narrative medium. So, taking as her starting-point 'The Portrait of a Lady', Dr Krook proceeds chapter by chapter in a close analysis of the Master's fictions until she arrives at the peak of his achievements, 'The Golden Bowl', discussing this with remarkable understanding of his artistic consciousness.

and indwelling moral purpose. The author's feminine directness of intuitive discernment, plus her painstaking analysis of James's frequent ambiguities and subtle twists of phrasing, enable her to probe into the complex consciousness of one of the greatest moral aesthetes who have practised the art of prose fiction. It need hardly be said that this is a fine and rewarding volume, one of those rare works of literary criticism that supply a genuine need.

Mr. Beer's study of the works of Mr. E. M. Forster follows closely on Mr. K. W. Gransden's compact treatment of the same subject in the 'Writers and Critics' series and both books are timely tributes to the frugal writer who is hailed by many as England's greatest living novelist. Forster is one of the most modest and unassuming of modern masters of the novel, he uses the simplest conversational exchanges to convey what Mr. Beer calls his "sense of reality and inward vision." Only rarely does he introduce what is termed a purple passage, and then it comes somehow as a shock by contrast with the even flow of his cool under-toned prose. If Henry James pictured the wielders of moneyed social power, Forster portrays groups of the intelligent middle-class, and such is the quality of his faintly romantic treatment of the characters—in writing tinged with humour and ironic compassion—that they stand as enduring examples of creative certainty. Mr. Beer's is a good and searching investigation into Mr. Forster's novels and other writings.

The humanistic approach seen in Mr. Forster's writings was earlier demonstrated in the writings of Matthew Arnold, both prose and poetry. As with Tennyson and other middle and late-Victorian poets, he is being re-discovered. Sir Harold Nicolson, who did so much between the wars to re-establish Tennyson's reputation, said recently, "Talking of under-rated poets, I think Matthew Arnold is going to be better thought of than he is today." Speaking for myself, I have never had any doubt about his poetic stature. If he has dwindled in the general esteem this has been due in part to the general process of denigration of everything Victorian, and in part to the natural desire of all poets in every age to bring their works to the notice of the reading public. Mr. Duffin is an enthusiast for Arnold's poetry, but tries to temper his delights with faintly apologetic comments. He speaks of a "personal enthusiasm that may over-rule the standards of pure criticism" and his final sentence holds a note of timidity, "If mid-century critics can accept him as a poet the gain will be theirs as well as his." If they can't, I would say, they are worthless as critics. I would agree that Arnold's poetry puts him "a close third to Tennyson and Browning." That is a high and deserved placing, and Mr. Duffin's study should lead many readers into the first collection of 'The Poetry of Matthew Arnold' that comes to hand. They should be well-rewarded.

The fifth volume in *A Guide to English Literature* covers the period from William Blake to Lord Byron and is as well-planned, well-written and well-documented as the earlier volumes. That is, it provides, in the editor's words, "a contour-map of the literary scene." It opens with a splendid essay by Mr. Edgell Rickword on 'The Social Setting (1780-1830)', followed by Professor D. W. Harding on 'The Character of Literature' in that period, and then continues with authoritative and cohesive descriptive and critical estimates of authors and works ranging from Blake, through Burns and Scott and the Romantic Poets, with Lionel Trilling on Jane Austen and Geoffrey Grigson on English Painting from Blake to Byron. The 40 pages of notes, bibliographies and biographies are again a feature likely to appeal to students and general readers.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

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The present condition in Europe and the pattern of Europe's development since the upheavals of the French Revolution and Napoleonic conquests, can be fully understood only if attention is focused upon certain all-embracing themes which have affected the whole of Europe since 1789. The book has been written primarily for sixth form and university students. It includes 27 maps and 6 diagrams.

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A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

World Perspectives in Education E J King Methuen 30s

This book is a study in Comparative Education, and it may be regarded as a sustained plea in justification of this kind of approach to the problems of education. As such it is certainly more convincing than most, for two reasons. Dr King gives a much more profound analysis of the nature of Comparative Education, and of the different levels at which this study may be pursued, than is usual, and with some at least of the problems with which he deals, he seems to me to vindicate his claim.

In discussing the nature of Comparative Education, Dr King repeatedly warns against superficial comparison, and as frequently re-iterates that the only path to true comparison is a "genuine acquaintance with the total ecological or cultural situation in a country" (pp 355-6). Once we have done this, we are in a position to move on to the second stage, the discussion of specific problems, from the comparative point of view, and Dr King's book is mainly concerned with this. After a somewhat lengthy introduction on the need for comparative studies in all problems of education, he proceeds to discuss first, problems of schools, then of Higher Education, then the relationship between ideologies and school programmes, and finally teachers, their training and the pupils (and their social backgrounds) whom they will have to teach. The book concludes with an eloquent plea for the fostering of a world outlook among teachers.

Any writing on education touches so many specialist fields that it is only too likely to disappoint the expert in any particular one, with comparative education this danger is enhanced owing to the greater spread of the study. Thus, though Dr King's section on Ideologies is extremely interesting and helpful, some will find some of his comments, e.g. on Utilitarianism (pp 280-2) rather superficial. As an example of the strength of Dr King's approach to problems we may quote his excellent discussion of problems of university expansion, where different forms of higher education are carefully analysed in different countries, as also are the standards of degrees, and as a result we can see what is strictly comparable—British efforts at expansion still fall far short of the average. The section is only marred by the statement that Britain spends only £37 million a year on universities and some £47 million on egg subsidies. This comparison—a domestic one—is unreal, for it gives only the figure of the recurrent university grant. If all other grants, especially those to students, which are on a much more generous scale than in many countries, are taken into account, then the figure is much higher.

Dr King's discussion of problems of secondary education, and the selection for it, seem to me less satisfactory. He pleads for a prolonged diagnostic period in the middle school. No doubt this would be in some respects a good thing, but it has the disadvantage of marking time in the development of particular talents until the diagnosis is complete. In an age of technological competition, it is doubtful whether such a delay can be afforded. Dr King also quotes the English public schools as an example of successful selection at 13+, but does not mention that this system rests upon a preparatory school curriculum based on certain subjects, especially the classical ones, pursued by all boys whether or not they later study the classics. One would have thought this hard to justify. Yet without it the public schools could not postpone their selection so late and maintain their high standards of classical education. The same problem occurred in some German states: the difficulty of postponing the entry to the *classische gymnasium* until 12+ was that the commencement of Latin and Greek was postponed.

W. H. BURSTON

A NEW LIFE OF SCHILLER

Schiller Bernt von Heiseler Translated and annotated by John Bednall Eyre and Spottiswoode 30s

The bi-centenary of the birth of Schiller in 1959 produced numerous tributes, the most substantial of which has been translated into English. For readers who know little of the second name in German literature this biography is precisely what is needed. The contributions of generations of German scholarship are utilised, and the translator supplies biographical notes on all the principal actors on the stage. It is his hope that his book will revive interest in one of the greatest figures in modern European literature among the young, who are always liable to worship at more recent and less worthy shrines. The book is the work of a sincere admirer, but he never loses his critical balance. It well deserved the high compliment of translation.

Schiller's life, unlike that of Goethe, was a struggle with ill-health and in his early years with poverty. There was talk of him becoming a pastor, and his father, an army surgeon and later an officer, wished him to be a doctor. He passed his exams but never practised, the liberty instinct was too strong to resist, and his early dramas soon attracted attention.

The Robbers was rather crude, but *Love and Intrigue* was a picture of the shady side of Court life as he had known it in his native Württemberg under Duke Karl Eugen. He attained his full stature with *Don Carlos*, the problem child of Philip II of Spain, and it remains a familiar feature of the German stage. Schiller hated despotism and intolerance, he poured something of his own liberal spirit into the Marquis Posa, the friend of the frustrated heir to the Spanish throne. It was not surprising that the Nazis forbade the performance of a drama which reminded its hearers that man had rights as well as duties, above all freedom of the mind.

For some readers the most fascinating chapter will be that on the relations of Schiller and Goethe. The young dramatist had made some stimulating friendships with men of the calibre of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Körner, but he had to wait till he achieved celebrity before adding Goethe to his list. The monarch of German, indeed of European literature, disliked what he regarded as the extravagance and lack of discipline in Schiller's early dramas and showed no desire for his acquaintance. The ice was broken when Schiller invited Goethe to contribute to a new literary organ and the great man responded. Personal contact was secured, and before long the elder invited the younger to stay with him. Schiller, who was happily married, never approved his host's unworthy association with Christiane Vulpius, but in all other respects their relations were cordial. Goethe paid his friend and colleague the highest compliment many years later when he declared that he had given him back his youth. The priceless correspondence of the two men—and men of letters often put some of their best work into such exchanges—enables us to realise how much each owed to the other. As Schiller's masterpieces—*Wilhelm Tell*, *The Maid of Orleans*, *Maria Stuart* and others followed in fairly rapid succession, they were produced in the Court Theatre of Weimar of which Goethe was the Director.

While war was raging in Europe the little capital of Karl August shone out like a beacon. Jena was the university of the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, and when Schiller was offered the chair of history he was glad to accept, not least for the salary. It was close enough to Weimar to maintain contact, and he had read a good deal of history in the construction of some of his dramas. His classes were a success, and his books on the Revolt of the Netherlands against Spain and the Thirty Years War are conscientious compilations which were widely read. The latter work was also of importance in the literary life of the author who was fascinated by the complex personality of Wallenstein and planned a drama or series of dramas on his career.

The third and last, *The Death of Wallenstein*, contains some of his finest verse and is immensely impressive on the stage. He was at the height of his powers and his fame when he sickened and died at the age of forty-six, leaving an unfinished drama, *The False Demetrius*, an episode in Russian history.

A brief but pregnant Epilogue laments the materialism, spiritual apathy and low ideals of the author's own generation and proclaims the idealism of Schiller as the best available tonic. Cast off the fear of earthly things, overcome the resistance of the dull world; if you do not risk your life you will never conquer life. He admonished us to live our life in all its fulness according to the divinely created plan. The message of the volume is Back to Schiller!

G P GOOCH

AMERICA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

America and the World Revolution Arnold J Toynbee Oxford University Press 12s 6d (UK only)

In the spring of 1961 three lectures were delivered at the University of Pennsylvania by Dr Arnold Toynbee. They have now been published in book form by the Oxford University Press. This is a prestige issue calling for notice, with criticism smacking of *lèse-majesté*. It makes excellent reading, and even better hearing to an audience which must have crammed the hall, respectful and hushed as it sat at the feet of the master. The subject was confessedly chosen to rivet attention, the matter designed to prick the conscience in measured phrase and gentle admonition.

For the interested follows this précis —

"The shot at Concord from embattled farmers" opened *The World Revolution*. Thence, like a sputnik, it has coursed the world twice and is now in its third orbit.

Meantime the idealism of the Founding Fathers has been lost in the materialism of wealth which has grown, and still grows, at an unprecedented pace, and the USA has degenerated into the bastion of conservatism, superior, apart, in splendid isolation. Thus she has taken over the role of Great Britain of the 19th century and is alienating the under-developed world even as she proffers aid in money, goods and missions, military and civil.

She heads the Non-Communist League in its bid against the Russian combine for the uncommitted and under-developed nations. She is losing because her wealth is misspent, largely through the pernicious and all-pervading influence of advertising. This evil has corrupted her people, has warped their sense of values and persuaded them that sheer luxuries are necessities, to the advantage alone of their mass producers.

Neither of these last poisons is likely to affect her rival, Russia. America must renew her own revolution by readjusting her assessment of needs as against wants and turn to the spiritual. "The impetus behind the American Revolution is the spirit of Christianity."

And now some comments —

In terms of history, there were previous rebellions against empire and tyranny. Declarations of Independence and of Rights are milestones in the millennia of human protest and endeavour and antedate 1776 by centuries. Only language and venues differ. They have continued, but their frequency and pace have accelerated in a world foreshortened by technology. The word gets round more rapidly. It encourages the others in the queue.

The swamping of idealism by materialism is a common factor. Revolutions

end when the fleshpots return, nothing yet devised can ensure the triumph of self-denial and the eschewing of self-indulgence and short-sighted self-interest St. Francis, Lenin and many another can testify thereto Already Russia is alive with a black market, executioner and firing squads are busy

Seventy-seven pages contain three magnificent addresses and an exhortation which, this writer fears, will have as little effect upon tomorrow as last week's sermon More's the pity But even to bear witness is something

DAVID GOLDBLATT

THE ETERNAL FLAME

While the Fates Allow John Redwood Anderson The Bee & Blackthorn Press, Beckenham, Kent 18s

It is fitting that this, the twentieth volume of verse by the octogenarian poet John Redwood Anderson, should be printed and bound in a format which must be the envy of his contemporaries young and old A tribute must at once be paid to Mr David Bone and his press at Beckenham for his quite beautiful piece of book-production

The fifty poems here presented were written for Mr Anderson's wife, Gwyneth, between the years 1952 and 1961, and consist mainly of sonnets in Shakespearian form, with other pieces in the rhymed irregular ode metres which this poet has been using for the past half-century All are accomplished in thought and measure, and no better indication of their quality can be given than by quoting *Sonnet XXVIII*

'Hear in the roar of London, where no height
lifts the eye skyward, no horizon calls
to that untravelled world that, out of sight
waits for imagination's rapt footfalls—
say! do I never miss them? the calm hills,
thresholds of dream, where sun and wind rejoice?
the deep still valleys, and each stream that fills
their gentle silence with its gentle noise?
And then I think of you, and in you find
what heights! what dreams! what crying distances!
in your far thoughts what landscapes of the mind!
what singing streams and holy silences!
All beauty lost I find in you tenfold,
And in your love a new world for my old'

Poetry-lovers and book-collectors should obtain this rare volume

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

A POSTSCRIPT TO SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT (Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press 3s 6d in UK) In his Godkin Lectures on *Science and Government* published in April, 1961, Sir Charles Snow critically analysed the practice of 'closed politics' in which policy decisions of the greatest magnitude can be made in secret without reference to Parliament or the public. He was concerned in particular with scientific decisions during the war, and the rivalry between Sir Henry Tizard and Professor Lindemann, later Lord Cherwell, who was invested with enormous authority by Sir Winston Churchill. It was he who advised upon the long term strategic effect of built-up area bombing by the RAF, which was started in 1942 largely upon his advice. Sir Charles Snow's book evoked a great deal of comment and was followed in October 1961 by publication of the official history, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939-1945* and in November by Lord Birkenhead's life of Lord Cherwell, *The Professor and the Prime Minister*. Not unnaturally Sir Charles has now written a post-script to his lectures in the light of these publications. In essence he is confirmed in his main views. Indeed the Official History supports in the main his criticisms of Lord Cherwell. There is no doubt that Lord Cherwell's views on the effects of bombing were entirely wrong in the result. "Lindemann's scientific judgment," writes Sir Charles, "was unusually bad." But he goes much further, one scientific opinion cannot ever be enough for the non-scientists to rely upon. There cannot be the one "authoritative" opinion. "That is the danger of having one scientist in a position of power among non-scientists."

PREHISTORIC INDIA (Cassell 21s) This short survey by Professor Stuart Piggott was first published in 1950 by Penguin Books. It covers in general terms the archaeology of prehistoric India from the earliest times to approximately 1,000BC. Professor Piggott indicates "what seem to me the nature and succession of the various human

cultures making up the pattern of the earliest India." The work has now been reprinted without alteration in the Belle Sauvage Library. While recent knowledge would have rendered revision "lengthy and exhaustive in detail", the author feels that "the general picture presented would not be altered sufficiently to warrant such wholesale rewriting." He notes, for example, that recent work in Baluchistan has in general gone to confirm his tentative pottery grouping and chronology. The volume is well illustrated.

WAR ON WANT (Pergamon Press, 15s) This small volume deserves the widest publicity. In December, 1961 the United Nations General Assembly designated the 1960s the UN Development Decade with the general target of providing a 50% increase in the economic growth rate of the under-developed countries. In April this year, a conference of experts was called at Cambridge to consider ways and means of implementing the UN target, by way of international planning and co-operation. This volume contains a report of the conference, including five sessions on different aspects of the problem. It certainly draws very welcome attention to the urgency and immensity of the task, not fully appreciated by the man in the street in this country. Professor J. E. Meade, for example points out that the average income here is eight times greater than in the under-developed countries, "but not only are the discrepancies enormous, they are becoming larger year by year." Real income in the developed countries is rising at the rate of 21% compared with 1% in the poverty-stricken lands. Mr Malcolm S. Adiseshiah led the discussion on human resources, Mr Andrew Shonfield dealt with capital and financial aid and Professor Meade discussed the place of international trade in economic development. Co-ordination of institutional machinery is discussed by Dr Paul-Marc Henry. This is the sort of book which should help persuade the public of the supreme need for international co-operation and sacrifice in this vital field.

Editor: Deryck Abel

Consulting Editor: G P Gooch, CH, FBA, D Litt



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FORUM FEATURE—

TRUTHS TO DEFEAT WAR

BERNARD RUBIN

*Associate Professor of Governmental Affairs and Public Relations,
Boston University, Massachusetts*

1. A Total Involvement

ALL the peoples of the world are directly affected by the overlapping revolutions which sweep the earth today. No person is secure from changes of considerable magnitude, causing upheavals in the structure of societies, the making of ideologies, the ways and means of science and technology, and in the manners and habits of daily life. The only permanence available to the planet lies in the certainty that revolutionary changes will continue.

Americans, no less than other peoples, must adjust their thinking to this elemental modern circumstance, and in order to retain their freedom are obliged to struggle to lead the revolutions supporting the concepts of liberty and to take effective counteraction against the revolutions which do not. A direct implication of this necessity to stand firm in the teeth of the storms while striving to ride the crests of the waves, is the total involvement of our people with the affairs of all mankind.

This is not to say that we are fully prepared as individuals or even as a nation to face up to the massive intrusions made by the times on our way of life. On the contrary, there is vast evidence that we are only just beginning to be realistic even though some of the more important revolutionary developments we are still learning about are no longer new or novel.

2. The Limits of Traditional Power Concepts

There is precious little comfort today in over-reliance on *power* for its own sake. In regard to the major obvious threats from the Communist blocs we are investing our resources and our energies to the creation of military power, and even though the investment grows year by year, by staggering amounts, there can never be enough power when both sides are conducting an arms race. To use the terminology of racing, each side tries to lap the other in some area of the military power competition, for as long as possible.

Prudence still dictates that this nation's "security planning" will be realistic and adequate only to the extent that it is based on a careful evaluation of the present and prospective relationship of the power position.

of the United States to that of the remainder of the world," as Grayson L Kirk opined in 1944, in the midst of a *hot* global war¹ Nevertheless, realistic security planning today depends upon a much wider power concept than we have ever appreciated before

Traditional power concepts usually revolve around the theme of military armaments and men Economics, administration, social situations are all parts of the pattern of making ready for the most modern and radical versions of traditional warfare A fundamental aspect of the traditionalist thinking is, of course, the struggle for victory Victory signifies that the winning side has greater power than before and the losing side is, for the time at least, devoid of power This concept is supported by most of man's recorded history and one suspects that it was valid long before we longed to speak to posterity

A major fault with depending wholly on the concept is that it is useful only if we have choices to fit the situation where the satisfactions of complete victory of the *once and for all* type are denied to us because the enemy won't fight that way or because we and they have used strategies which work to postpone a showdown which would force all who fall in to face fall-out and evaporation

Victory is no less our national ambition today than it ever was, but despite the rantings of extremists who affect a very brave posture because they so avidly follow events which they really fear, the battles to be won are not necessarily of the sword The good old tired and true platitudes are more acceptable to extremists than are the facts which men of courage and reason face up to

Physical military power, although more obvious and available today, to both of the major ideological contenders, lurks as a menacing force behind the scenes Perhaps the die will be cast in the too near future for criss-crossing warheads plummeting towards their targets as countless individuals scurry for some shelter or last haven for prayer and as countless others innocently spend their last moments blissfully unaware that tomorrow will be "sans everything"

Such a possibility makes international atomic blackmail less of a protection for either side and more a curse A leading authority on nuclear weaponry, Professor Hans A Bethe, rejects such thinking as goes into the concept that an atomic war would be a "short war", which will be over after one exchange of thermonuclear weapons", and believes that virtually total destruction of one side by the other is probable Professor Bethe forecasts casualties of up to 90 per cent destroying the very "fabric of society and the institutions we would be fighting for". He also tells us that the "power situation" demands that we adjust psychologically to the fact that in war and in peace, only "partial success is possible"²

The power available is better and more efficient, militarily, than ever before It is even more devastating than the military people like, because it probably denies the taste of victory to those who plan wars They have to plan to assume that the highest ranking surviving officer will order the bells to peal for victory

On the other side of the problem, there are those who are so pacific

and humane that they protest against the situation by marching in favour of banning the bombs. In other words, they say that because we have such a revulsion to being reduced to ashes on an atomic assembly line, we should all protest with all the moral fervour in us against man's inhumanity to man.

They are right of course! Morally and religiously there is no excuse for the situation. They protest against it and so do we. However, the extremists against war groups share a dilemma with the complete-victory groups. Reality presently mocks both positions.

What a fantastic dilemma it is! We dare not do without the horror bombs and the related instruments of hell and we dare not do with them if we want *victory*. It is necessary to compete effectively in the arms race and at the same time it is beyond argument that all must try to negotiate these packages of the ultimate dreads out of existence. Against the possibility that something can go wrong in one respect to one of the twin endeavours, we prepare for war and peace on a piecemeal basis.

In view of the awful situation, the great international and inter-system rivalry is turned increasingly to other power sources than afforded by traditional military power.

Each side is preoccupied with the *need to be powerfully influential* in all areas of organized human activity, in all parts of the world. Also, each side is ever more determined to tilt the scales of history in its favour by convincing men of all races and all places that its *cause* is best. It is a war of peace battles.

3. War Games and Peace Games

Viewing peace as a new kind of war has several distinct advantages over the approach latched to the theme that peace is merely the name given to the interludes between armed conflicts. From our point of view the new kind of war is fought to rid the world of the old kind of conflict. Hunger, ignorance, disease, governmental and political oppression, are the prime enemies working against the ideals of human freedom.

Before our generation democrats made sporadic gains against these enemies in the course of highly individualistic and disorganized campaigning. The result is that we have made tremendous strides forward but we have left a great portion of mankind behind in a backwash of the meaner conditions of life, in a fatalistic frame of reference to seemingly endless and meaningless suffering.

Applying the moral principles we adhere to as a people advocating a truly revolutionary system of government to all the downtrodden peoples, gives us a necessary pride in our accomplishments and converts the principles into essential guides for an unselfish interest in humanity. Principles translated into humane programmes constitute power politics which we must engage in. "Paradoxical though it may seem, society as a whole must come to the aid of the individual finding ways to identify him as a unique person and to place him alongside his fellow men in ways that will not inhibit or destroy his individuality."³

Walter Millis, in 1960, in an article entitled "The Peace Game", argued

that old style war today fails to "serve its greatest social function, that of the *ultima ratio* in human affairs" and suggests that the attention formerly given to the business be given to peace. One brought up in a world where much attention has been given to *war games*, senses the pithy satire in Millis' idea that, "In the Peace Game the players are asked to assume that peace has broken out."⁴

Certainly, that application of the so-called *Game Theory* makes more sense than a preoccupation with war games with all their jargon of the age of horror-like "Finite Deterrence" and "Credible First Strike Capacity". The hard-headed approach to the thermonuclear game, is necessary but perhaps less significant than it superficially appears, if we can be successful in winning vital peace battles.

Perhaps a wretched looking, hungry little child, huddled in some doorway somewhere, can be saved for purposes other than those which forced its parents and grandparents and great grandparents, etc., to succumb to the inevitability of suffering. Perhaps that child will grow into adulthood and write a poem one day, or dry the tears of someone frightened, or see something under a microscope which will change human history, or live to die in a bed giving praise for having been blessed with a life favouring joy as well as misery. Such a child, such children, such peoples are the targets in, and the main beneficiaries of, the peace offensive.

Inherently from this offensive comes important power, and that kind of power creates the best politics for our side.

4. What We Stand For

Many an individual in this country wonders why the values of democracy are not immediately evident to other peoples and why they don't adopt democratic government and reject the enticements of the Communists and of the other systems of collective bondage. The answer is that most peoples on earth don't know how we really live and cannot relate their lives to ours because they lack important points of reference. It is up to us to prove ourselves by *reaching* them through their daily lives.

Communist appeals to such peoples have usually been based on what the Communists claim to be against. The pattern with variants is familiar. The Reds are against colonialism, the landlords, capitalism, etc. All will be well, they suggest, if one accepts Communism and shares in the new life.

Those policies of negativism have had, strange as it may seem to us, very positive effects. So much attention has been paid to what is bad that change looks good for its own sake. Especially in the undeveloped areas of the world, euphemistically called the underdeveloped areas, the successes of the Reds have been primarily based on the attempt to divert people from the real issues. They hide their doctrines and bleat about their straw-men culprits. Their genuine interest in the problem is nil!

Diametrically opposite in intent and programme, the democrat must do more than point, he must correct. Instead of raising the people to armed revolt against whatever is, as the Reds do just to snare them, we are obliged to bring the revolutions to the people. Our liberal revolutions are

primarily social, economic and technological, albeit with great political ramifications

Speaking what he believes, acting in accordance with his beliefs and adhering to the truth, the democrat advances his cause

A sound appraisal of that cause was delivered by Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, in an address to the Count Folke Bernadotte Institute on World Affairs in 1961. I feel that Count Bernadotte, who gave his life in the cause of peace, would have endorsed the Rowan views

We ought to know, and we must insure that the whole world knows, that Americans like Washington, Paine, Paul Revere, blazed the trail of revolutions for independence. We sowed the seeds that produced the harvest of political liberty, human dignity, and material abundance that has caught the imagination of much of the world. The hungry and harassed of many lands are groping for what is a part of our own heritage, and we must leave no one with the false notion that we fear or seek to disown the ideas and aspirations that have sustained us as a nation of free men.

We must make it clear that we do not attempt to thwart the forces of social, economic and political change for in a world of progress the *status quo* is good enough for very few people. Let us emphasize that we Americans believe in change. So let us make the next ten years a "decade of development" for those who yearn for progress. Let us carry into the effort not only our dollars and our know-how but that special "gleam in America's eye." Perhaps the world will see that it is not a leer of avarice or ambition but a gleam of love, compassion, humanitarianism.⁵

5. Of Yesterdays and Tomorrows

Much of what we know of tactics and strategy in the truth battles for peace we have learned the hard way through experience. Much of that experience is derived from events which started to ripple over one another in 1914. Now we are able to see the ends of that beginning and new beginnings.

One lesson has etched itself deeply on our minds. Through experience we appreciate that the battle lines have been drawn and democracy will endure only if it learns to communicate successfully, thereby enlisting the support of men who learn about and learn to practise individualism. If the age of communications is not to precede the "age of uniformity, the age of solitude, the age of Big Brother, the age of double-think",⁶ and if we are to avoid the awful perpetrations of the *mass man*, who believing that he is the state, sets "its machinery working to crush beneath it any creative minority which disturbs it",⁷ effective communication of the ideas of democracy is insurance for our survival.

The Government of the United States has committed itself to programmes worth talking about, programmes truly part of our national purpose and truly manifestations of our national heritage.

Under the *Alliance for Progress* programme of aid to Latin America, \$1,029,576,000 was pledged by President Kennedy as "a vast effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and schools (part of a ten year, 20 billion dollar programme). By March of 1962, only a year after its inception, there was irrefutable evidence of our

national intent. In the Andean Department of Puno, in Peru, 26,000 children were eating surplus United States food and school attendance in that Department rose by 50 per cent."⁸

Just a few cautious thoughts at this time! Despite the significance of the incident of progress just related and the appreciation which we have of the inherent political power resulting from any multiplication of such fundamental change, something less than over-exhilaration is called for.

If the *Alliance for Progress* or any similar effort produces only token changes, then we could be preparing the ground for greater frustrations than now exist. Happily, the problem is recognized. President Kennedy, on the first anniversary of the programme, reminded the wealthy elements of Latin American society that we and they were pledged among other things to "modernize tax structures and land tenure, to wipe out illiteracy and ignorance, to promote health and provide decent housing." He warned that "those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities." Changes are important, implied the President, but he also stressed the fact that changes are part of sweeping revolutionary reforms.

This most important conclusion deserves to be kept constantly in mind—"those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."⁹

As we ready ourselves to face events there is good reason to ponder whether fears are unconquerable or whether elemental hopes will prove to be justified. Upcoming is either mankind's greatest age or the last one. Several of the more important situations relevant to the paradox are considered in these pages.

The crucial weaving together of events which is intrinsic to this account leads us to one important conclusion—above all.

Any realistic appraisal of the Communist blocs, the primary opponents of democracy, does not give us reason to believe that the hideousness of war has made those blocs anti-war. On the contrary, Communist leadership has the highest regard for war as the final solution to the competition. On every occasion those leaders boast about their abilities to rain destruction on our heads. We can expect that their armed forces will continue to be utilized in the most direct and aggressive fashion in support of their world-wide policies. Also, their forces of subversion are considered to be inseparable from their military designs.

Nevertheless, time is not necessarily a factor working in their favour. Time can be the primary element working in our favour, if we use it to make our conception of government viable to the peoples of the earth through programmes aimed at making a more tolerable, freer life a universal practicality.

There is no doubt that the struggle will be a protracted one under the present state of affairs and even an early twenty-first century problem under approximate conditions. Considering present situations realistically, there are factors which democrats have not yet taken proper account of. For example, there are the brooding machinations of Red China, immediately involving one out of every four of the human beings on earth, which

will produce a new crux of world destiny before long. Also, the fantastic pace of science and technology is such a mixed blessing that we will have to be on our guard to see to it that politics does not become an outmoded subject, thoughtlessly sacrificed to machines which *teach* people who may find themselves forgetting how to think.

Respectful of the hard and sometimes brutal environment in which we must manoeuvre, we should not forget that world shaping developments are also inevitable in the course of each generation. There is much to be gained and lost, from our point of view, in the next generation.

In a generation the power for evil of our opponents could be countered effectively by a positive democratic approach to the human condition, if we apply what we have learned in this twentieth century of revolution to the problems which confront freedom. In a generation, such progress could be made by democrats that even the societies within the Communist orbit would be radically altered, not to mention the positive and practical impressions which we could make on all the societies on earth. This conclusion does not lessen the possibilities of all-out atomic madness, but it does give us reason to hope that if we can accomplish our objectives and stave off insanity for a generation, the current dilemma could be entombed in the history books.

That is the most revolutionary prospect of the age of change.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Grayson L. Kirk, "Postwar Security for the United States", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol XXXVIII, No 5 (October, 1944), p 945
- ² Hans A. Bethe, "Hans Bethe on Arms Control—II", second in a series of three articles containing significant excerpts from a speech delivered at Cornell University, in *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 10, 1962
- ³ The Rockefeller Panel Reports, *Prospect for America* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1961), p 337. Also, for an examination of the need for a "positive, independent" foreign policy, see Louis B. Sohn, "Creating a Favourable World Opinion of American Foreign Policy", *The Annals*, Vol 330 (July, 1960), pp 11-21
- ⁴ Walter Millis, "The Peace Game", *Saturday Review* (September 24, 1960), pp 13, 15. Also, see Robert Paul Wolff, "The Game of War", *The New Republic*, Vol 144, No 8, Issue 2415 (February 20, 1961), pp 9-13
- ⁵ Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Address entitled "The United States and Revolution", delivered before the 12th Annual Count Folke Bernadotte Institute on World Affairs, at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, May 6, 1961
- ⁶ George Orwell, *1984* (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954), p 24
- ⁷ Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1950), p 88
- ⁸ Tad Szulc, "The First Year of the Alliance for Progress: Gains, Obstacles and Controversy", *The New York Times*, March 12, 1962.
- ⁹ "Text of President's speech on Alliance for Progress", *The New York Times*, March 14, 1962

CONTEMPORARY PROFILE—

THE LARGENESS OF POWYS

H P COLLINS

AMONG his mountain fortresses in his adopted land of Wales the eldest of the strange brood of Powys is celebrating his 90th birthday. The University of Wales is complimenting him—none too soon—with an honorary degree. The sculptor Jonah Jones has given a word picture of him in old age—

“John, now full of years, rests his long limbs on a sofa across the upper window of his tiny quarryman’s cottage. His head lies back on the cushion, the silver locks still curling in Powysian splendour over the vast cranium. The brow is Socratic, deeply furrowed, but untroubled. The eyes, deep set, are piercing and benign. It is with the nose, hawk-like, the nostrils wide-winged, that the Powysian spirit begins. Then comes the great upper lip, cruel, ready to boom. This is John. The mouth is built for rhetoric, his greatest love. The whole effect of the head is of the falcon, of Horus the hawk-god, belying the underlying tenderness of the John who prays daily, for the delivery of animals from the agony of vivisection.”

If this is dramatic, it is no more so than John Cowper himself, whose whim has ever been to display himself to the world as an actor—often in a semi-tragic rôle, sometimes as an avowed buffoon.

There is, of course, a long-established Powys legend. Very well as long as it is the right sort of legend, but we must beware of what, in a recent *Spectator*, Mr Bernard Bergonzi good-humouredly called “powysology”, for the word has dubious implications. There is a clan quality about the Powys which makes them far more unlike the rest of the world than they are unlike one another. None the less they are very dissimilar—the two outstanding brothers as sharply as any. Theodore’s devotees are rarely the enthusiasts for JC. Broadly, we might say, John Cowper is Homeric where TF is biblical. John was once hailed near his home by some vinous soldiers as “the Old Man of the Mountains”. In a real sense he is, while Theodore is of the lowland valleys. Such a metaphor is needed to distinguish the quietest, sceptical, life-rejecting art of *Mr Weston’s Good Wine* from the positive, upward-striving affirmation of his inartistic brother, the Pauline anarchist, the eloquent, erudite sensationist with his earthy philosophy of “enjoy-defy-forget”!

Both are essential countrymen, both defy their own era and are generally timeless. It is easy to see why they are our last rural novelists. The last *countrymen* of original genius, they matured in the later years of Hardy, to whom they both owe much. Our rural novel, so vital in its centrality, its clear outlines, directness, its truth to Nature, was by the 1920’s almost swamped by urban values and town-centred intellectuality. JC and Theodore Powys (both eccentrics) lent it new vitality. Theodore by the strange integrity of his religion *à rebours*, JC through his saturation with the spirit of empirical psychology. Yet even more than any of his fore-runners is JC a man of the earth. He is an exile, banished by his own

intellectuality, and the morbid intensity of his questing conscience, from the soil. He who calls Hardy a townsman! He has achieved depths hitherto unplumbed because he is the first impenitent countryman to delve psychologically into sophisticated minds (beginning with himself), and the one intuitive psychologist creatively aware of the elemental, the animist, the occult forces that elude a merely social culture.

Because his rapt earnestness has always overridden art, his massive novels are suspect for their formlessness, and it is not surprising that his *Autobiography* is his one unquestioned masterpiece. Insistently recalling Rousseau, it has few, if any, superiors in English. Alas, its very candour and thoroughness seem to have frightened off readers. He touches Newman's *Apology* at one extreme and Pepys's *Diary* at the other. Beneath the lovable and almost defiantly childlike personality there is a resolve to accept and proclaim nothing that is not proved upon the pulses—nothing that does not ring true to a well-seasoned intellect and an almost Dickensian alertness for the absurd.

John Cowper was born in Derbyshire, but his father, the well-to-do, simple clergyman, soon migrated to Montacute in Somerset *via* Weymouth, the scene of some of his best natural descriptions and the true hero of *Jobber Skald*. His mother was one "in love with that side of the moon which turns itself away from the earth" and the proud robust humility he inherited from his father is tempered by another kind of humility that is not far removed from a sense of oppression. His temperament is genial yet introversive. From his conscious oddities and his sense of guilt he suffered much in early life, and in his teens, the wisest fool of Sherborne School was bullied. With a Parthian denunciation of his tormentors, he fled from school and duly entered the family college, Corpus Christi, Cambridge, where in his rooms thirteen years later his more Pagan brother Llewelyn found, rudely carved on a beam, the words "Pray for the soul of John Cowper Powys."

Little moved by academic Cambridge, but much by its society and its countryside, he took a second class in history in 1894 and embarked on the literary career which led, very slowly, to his reluctant recognition as the most fundamental creative force after D. H. Lawrence and to the acknowledgment of *A Glastonbury Romance* as, in Prof. Wilson Knight's words, "perhaps the greatest work of our generation."

He taught literature eloquently in girls' schools and until the first war was outwardly little but a popular lecturer, a talker and a sensitively imitative writer of lyrics. He suffered vilely from gastric ulcers—and from his own morbid inhibitions—but drew delighted audiences among the shoulder-chipped, the socially depressed, the convention-ridden and (above all) the Jews of the United States, to whom he expounded Dostoevsky and Whitman with the passion—and the mannerisms—of a field-preacher. He gained little academic recognition, was amusingly satirised by his confrère, Louis Wilkinson, made a useful income and incubated his early novels of socialism and exploratory psychology. In 1915 and 1916 he published two volumes of criticism remarkable for their range and generosity and a certain persuasive power of exposition. He has always had what Joubert

called *l'âme et l'esprit hospitaliers*. The honesty as well as the extreme fluidity of his mind showed clearly in his earliest novels, *Wood and Stone*, *Rodmoor* and *Ducdame*. These found quite a few discriminating champions, but novel readers in general had not yet enough psychology or concentration for such fare, while the *avant-garde* were deterred by his grave reverence for Nature and his emerging repudiation of the twentieth century in its material bearings.

His genius for being John Cowper is palpably greater than his genius for writing novels. He does not so much advance the novel as re-found it lower down. *Wolf Solent*, written while still living in New York State (*coelum non animum mutat*), was published in England in 1929 and won, if not wide acclamation, a discriminating recognition of the author's idealistic quality. His first major work, some find it his best novel. To call *Wolf*, as some have, a modern Hamlet is misleading, but one could envisage a modern genius with patience, sincerity and psychological awareness drawing a man (albeit himself) more deeply self-knowing than even Shakespeare's glass and mould.

Side by side with his novels John Cowper issued a long series of gracefully written essays, propounding his sensationism as a *modus vivendi* in a difficult world. They show a cheerful adaptability, a yearning for social justice and tolerance, and a remarkable understanding of feminine character. Penetrating books on Dostoevsky and Rabelais bore even livelier witness to his sympathetic humanity—and to his amazing faculty for allusion.

Before his final return from the USA he wrote *A Glastonbury Romance* and the *Autobiography*. Unwieldy Leviathan though it is and constantly though it affronts probability and form, the *Romance* is a deepening of human experience. It explores human nature and instinct with unprecedented intensity. The struggle for the soul of Merlin's Glastonbury between the vulgarian Christ "Bloody Johnnie" Geard and the forces of materialism, with all the sensory, naturalistic and amatory experience it includes, is unforgettably described.

By 1935 John Cowper was reinstalled in Wessex, issuing *Jobber Skald*, a story broadly parallel to *Wolf Solent*, less satisfyingly constructed but with natural descriptions recalling (with how great a difference!) Hardy's *Maiden Castle*, not quite so good, stressed the intensification of living through the love of antiquity and homely, unchanging things. In 1937 he longingly migrated to Wales, to steep himself in the recondite, dreamlike, purposive but slow-moving historical novels, *Owen Glendower* and *Porius*. Some find this his most enthralling aspect, but most of us marvel at the achievement while enjoying it with certain reservations.

Prophetically of the future, John Cowper is in fact by no means of the past. All through the 1950's he has produced stories, fantasies and essays, including *The Brazen Head* (about Roger Bacon and Bonaventura), *Homer and the Aether* and several "moral science fictions". His letters to Louis Wilkinson, collected and most ably edited over a quarter of a century by this oldest friend, are a heart-warming sequel to the *Autobiography*. One needs to know a little of the writer's mind before fully embracing them,

but once the idiom and the humour are familiar, they are a joy the correspondent is even more *déboutonné* than was the self-chronicler

In the sunset of life he appears serener than ever before, though he has endured heavy bereavement and is afflicted with much of his old internal trouble, occasional fits and partial blindness. The insatiable reader still hungers for knowledge. But it may be at least a satisfaction to him, as it is a gratification to others, that he has achieved and conveyed an unprecedented knowledge of one subject: a writer's self.

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THE BRITISH SCENE—

INCOMES POLICY

PAUL DERRICK

LAST March at Orpington a Tory majority of 14,760 was turned into a Liberal majority of 7,855. In July at Leicester the Conservative candidate received 6,578 votes as against 17,900 at the General Election, and the Liberal received half as many again. It was clear that something had to be done, Mr Selwyn Lloyd was sacked, but this did not help the Government solve its problems.

Mr Macmillan made it clear that although the "pay pause" had ended last Spring, and although the "guiding light" had been extinguished, the Government was determined to work out an effective "Incomes Policy". On July 26 he announced that the Government intended to set up a National Incomes Commission which would make pronouncements about wage claims and the national interest. It appears that the appeals of successive Chancellors for restraint in wage claims and in the distribution of dividends over the last fifteen years are going to be reinforced by the appeals and warnings of the new Commission. But it is difficult to see why its pronouncements and warnings should have any more effect than those of the Council on Prices, Productivity and Incomes during the last five years.

Between the end of 1955 and the end of 1958 the Government used the credit squeeze and other restrictive practices in its efforts to prevent incomes rising faster than output. But as it tended to affect output more than incomes, to curtail supply more than demand, the credit squeeze was not very effective and the third report of the Council on Prices, Productivity and Incomes said that it was "imperative" to find some other way of dealing with inflation.

Restrictions were relaxed and there was a brief boom for the election; but there was a new balance of payments crisis in the summer of 1961 and Mr Selwyn Lloyd tried to impose his "pay pause" by direct intervention in wage negotiations. It became clear, however, that this, like his other restrictive measures, tended to affect output as much as incomes. The postmen worked to rule in January for the first time ever, and output in January was no higher than it had been two years earlier. Output in April was lower than it had been a year earlier, though French output was up by 8 per cent in the same period. Mr Selwyn Lloyd's White Paper in February, 1962, had no more effect than Sir Stafford Cripps' White Paper of 1948 or Mr Macmillan's White Paper of 1956.

This new White Paper said that the nation could not afford wage increases of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year, but in May the dockers won a 9 per cent increase, and at the end of the month it was announced that $2\frac{3}{4}$ million workers had won increases of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent since the beginning of the year. It was clear that the "guiding light" was failing; but will the National Incomes Commission be able to produce anything to replace it?

In the debate on July 26, Mr Macmillan, Mr Maudling, Mr Gaitskell and Mr Callaghan all said that an incomes policy should apply to profits and dividends as well as to wages, but none of them seemed to know what to propose. Mr Macmillan said it was "vital that people should not feel that their acceptance of the restraint implied in a national incomes policy is merely going to give someone else a larger profit or dividend". But all he could think of suggesting was that the profits tax should be increased from time to time. The profits tax has been increased eight times since 1946 and in an expanding economy it is only too easy for such increases to be passed on to the consumer in higher prices. The Excess Profits Levy introduced by the Conservatives in 1952 had to be abandoned the following year because of its effect on output, and Mr Selwyn Lloyd's Speculative Gains Tax is regarded by trade unionists as a farce.

But if the Government does not seem to know how to prevent incomes rising faster than output, the Labour Party and the TUC do not seem to know either. It would not be enough for a Labour Government to repeal the Rent Act, restore the profits tax on distributed profits which was abolished in 1958 and reverse the surtax cuts of 1961. For the TUC repudiated restraint in wage claims in 1950 in spite of all the controls and subsidies operated by the Labour Government. Correcting Tory mistakes would not be enough.

Plan for Progress said little about the problem of preventing inflation in an expanding economy. It *did* say that Labour would use taxation to discourage dividend increases and might have to adopt more direct methods. This suggests that Labour might bring in temporary legislation for the limitation of dividends as proposed by Mr Gaitskell in 1951. But that legislation would merely have delayed the distribution of dividends to shareholders until 1954, and inflation is a continuing problem.

In 1950 the TUC repudiated restraint in wage claims until such time as there was "a reasonable limitation of profits". The TUC has often recognised, as it did last June, that "incomes should be kept broadly in line with increasing productivity if prices are to be kept stable"; but it is not prepared to recommend any kind of restraint unless the Government "maintains fair play between different sections of the community".

This the Conservative Government has failed to do. Between 1947 and 1961 output increased by about 44 per cent, wage rates by about 95 per cent and dividends by about 239 per cent. In the August of 1962 dividends were over 8 per cent higher than in the August of 1961, and further increases are likely following cuts in the bank rate, reductions in HP deposits, etc. In the August issue of *The Banker*, Professor Frank Paish calculated that over the next five years dividends were likely to rise by about $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent a year. All in all, dividends have been rising about twice as fast as wage rates even when new issues of ordinary shares are taken into account, and four times as fast as output.

Last year there were reports that the TUC took the view that unions should press more for "fringe benefits" of one kind and another rather than for straight wage increases, and that wage increases might sometimes be paid to some extent in stock. But proposals for "delayed pay" or "Post

Crisis Credits" are not going to induce unions to exercise restraint in wage claims if nothing is done about profits and dividends. They would give the workers some kind of claim on undistributed profits; but they would be unlikely to be enough to make restraint respectable in the unions. On the other hand a poll in 1957 showed that only 17 per cent of trade unionists would oppose restraint if dividends were limited by law.

There were several resolutions on the agenda at this year's Trades Union Congress calling on the TUC to work out some kind of an incomes policy, those from the Electricians, the Inland Revenue Staff Federation and the Building Workers were in general terms, while that from the Chemical Workers specifically called for effective action on profits and dividends. There was an interesting debate and the TUC is now pledged to work out some kind of a policy. It is to be hoped that it will publish something before Mr. Maudling gets down to his budget.

On July 30, Mr. Cole said in the *Guardian* that there would be an "explosion" unless the TUC produced some kind of incomes policy by September and that the Government were "desperate" about their failure in this field. On August 2 he said that the Labour Party and the TUC were to get together to try to work out a policy, and on August 9 he reported that the Chancellor and the TUC were challenging each other to produce a policy.*

Mr. Macmillan seems to think that the unions are more likely to listen to the appeals of the National Incomes Commission than to those of Chancellors over the last fifteen years. But if the Commission shows that proposed wage claims will lead to wages increasing faster than output, the unions concerned will simply point to increases in rents, profits and dividends. The National Incomes Commission will not have powers comparable to the Dutch Social and Economic Foundation, and it is likely to be some time before collective bargaining in Britain becomes as centralised as in Holland or Sweden. But even if this does happen and even if the Unions are reorganised to some extent, conditions in Britain are such and trade union traditions and attitudes are such that success is likely to depend very much on whether the Government is prepared to do anything about profits and dividends. It would be useless for it to try to take legal power to control wages without doing anything about profits and dividends. The Union reaction would be prompt and output would slump.

Last January Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said he was not prepared to bring in any kind of limitation of dividends because it might tend to affect growth and productivity. But in the same letter to the TUC he said that he might be "driven to further restrictive measures" which *would* lead to "loss of economic growth and to unemployment." In any case the Co-operative Movement has grown enormously in 100 years in spite of co-operative societies paying no more than a limited return on capital, and the John Lewis Partnership has grown substantially since 1930 when it began to

* Mr. Woodcock made it clear that any kind of moderation in wage claims would depend on some kind of action on profits and dividends. The composite resolution carried on the Wednesday called for the fair distribution of the nation's wealth — P.D., September 14.

limit the dividends it paid to its shareholders, and the fact that the workers or partners share to some extent in the firm's profits helps to increase incentive and production

At the Conservative Conference at Blackpool in 1946 Mr Winston Churchill, as he then was, declared that Conservatives "seek as far as possible to make the status of the wage earner that of a partner rather than an irresponsible employee" This surely implies some kind of participation by workers in the earnings of companies, but while Conservatives have talked a good deal about the value of a spirit of partnership they have done nothing to make partnership a reality The Liberals talk a lot about Co-Ownership, the recent report of the Liberal Industrial Affairs Committee had nothing to say about the distribution of the earnings of industry except that the workers should share in them to some extent And Labour Party members argue a great deal about Clause Four of the party constitution, but though the party talks vaguely about the possibility of changes in company law, as in *Industry and Society* and *Signposts for the Sixties*, it says little about the problem of ensuring "the most equitable distribution that may be possible" of the earnings of companies

Three years ago the Jenkins Committee was asked to review the working of the Companies Act and to consider what should be the duties of directors and the rights of shareholders and generally to recommend what changes in the law are desirable One of the members of the Committee, Professor L C B Gower, pointed out in his book, *Modern Company Law*, that directors are not, in law, entitled to pay regard to the interests of their workers, their customers or even the nation generally except in so far as doing so helps to increase the profits of their shareholders The accuracy of this interpretation of the law was confirmed in June when a court held that it would be against the interests of shareholders and therefore *ultra vires* and illegal for the *Daily News* to pay over £1 million in compensation to ex-employees of the *News Chronicle*

But it is surely also against the interests of shareholders for company directors to pay attention to the appeals of Chancellors and exercise restraint in the distribution of dividends Is it therefore also *ultra vires* and illegal? Some shareholder should take the matter to court when a board of directors refuses to increase its dividends because of the Chancellor's appeals It is really grotesque for Chancellors to appeal to company directors to refuse to meet their legal obligations

If Chancellors think that continuing increases in dividends are likely to lead to inflation and disaster, they should bring in legislation to prevent such increases, as suggested by the *Economist* and the *Financial Times* in 1949 In his recent book, *Pricing Power and the Public Interest**, Dr Gardiner C Means suggests that large companies should be subjected to an Excess Profits Levy unless they reward executives with bonuses based on performance rather than profits and adopt pricing policies designed to bring in but a modest return on capital But it would surely be simpler and better to change the whole basis of industrial ownership by bringing in legislation limiting the return as well as the liability of the Shareholder

* Harpers £3

WORLD VISTAS—

COMMON MARKET—VOTE?

ENID LAKEMAN

THERE is a widespread feeling that the Government ought to "go to the country" before committing us to the Common Market. Going into Europe will be a very big constitutional step, and it is one for which the Government cannot claim any "mandate" from the last General Election. If anything, the opposite is the case, for during that election Government candidates were saying that we could not possibly join the Common Market, and that to vote for the Liberals, who wanted us to do so, was to vote for the ruin of British agriculture, if not of the entire country.

Clearly, there is a strong case for saying that a Government which has changed its mind so drastically should submit itself afresh to the judgment of the electors.

It does not, however, follow that to do so would be to get the people's verdict on the Common Market. Our electors cannot, by their votes, indicate their opinion on this or on any other particular question.

This is true even if all candidates of Party A are committed to one course and all candidates of Party B to the opposite, for there is no telling whether a vote given to either of those parties is given because of its policy on that matter or in spite of it. The general election of 1950 was supposed to give the electors the chance to show whether they wished the nationalisation of the iron and steel industry to take effect or not. If it had given them this opportunity, postponing the operation of the Act until after the election would have been a good democratic idea, but in fact it did nothing of the sort. Electors could vote only on a party's whole record and programme, not on any particular item, so that anyone who disliked the Act but nevertheless still preferred the Labour Government to any visible alternative could only vote Labour. How many such people there may have been nobody knows, but the Labour Government was returned again to power and, of course, proceeded to implement the Act.

In such circumstances a Government claims a mandate from the people for doing something it wants to do, it resists pressure for something it does not want to do, on the plea that it has no mandate for a measure not included in its election manifesto. Both pleas are specious.

If there were a General Election now, we should not know whether votes for the Government's candidates were given in support of its present pro-Common Market policy or whether those voters preferred its anti-Common Market policy of the previous election but stuck to the party for other reasons. An increase or a decrease in the Government candidates' votes will of course indicate the popularity or unpopularity of its policies, but not necessarily of *that* policy. There are plenty of reasons why our present Government has lost votes, and its defeat would not necessarily indicate that the voters wished to defeat any particular measure.

In the case of the Common Market, the position is more complicated, for the parties are divided on this question. The Liberals are the only party

showing any approach to unity, and even they have their anti-Common Market section, some of whom may be candidates. Labour has at least two distinct points of view and we do not yet know which will be the official one at the time of an election, and everyone knows that a group of Conservative MPs bitterly oppose their Government's change of front.

Therefore, in addition to the uncertainty about an elector's motives in voting for any given party, we have the puzzle of whether, in voting for that party's candidate in his constituency, he is supporting the party's policy or that candidate's. The Conservative MP for Yarmouth went so far as to vote against his party in a division on the Common Market. Supposing he stands again for Yarmouth, anyone living there who wants the Conservative Government to continue will have to vote for him, will that vote be intended as support for the party or for Mr. Fell's contrary opinions?

It is true that some clue to the trend of public opinion will be given if, as compared with the previous election, candidates of Mr. Fell's persuasion consistently gain or lose substantially more or fewer votes than other Conservatives. On the whole, however, a clear indication of this kind is unlikely, because the number of people who will vote against their normal party on one issue is generally small, and because in any given constituency those who change sides may have been influenced by other local circumstances.

One such circumstance is that if a voter feels so strongly about the Common Market that he is prepared to make this the one thing that determines his vote—even to the extent of voting Labour when he is a Conservative or vice versa—he may yet be unable to cast a vote that will help the cause he so strongly favours. It is quite possible that he may have a choice only of two or three candidates, each of whom favours going in—or even, perhaps, each of whom wants to stay out.

Thus, the votes cast in a General Election would give no reliable indication of which road the majority of our voters wished us to take at this turning point in our history.

Even this does not exhaust the objections to a General Election as a species of referendum. Even if circumstances were such that votes for a given party could be regarded as votes for a particular course of action and votes for another party as votes for the opposite course, it by no means follows that the election would be won by the party advocating the course desired by the majority. In the 1950 Election, it is fairly safe to count all non-Labour voters as opposed to the nationalisation of iron and steel, those voters were in the majority, but Labour won the election. That could have been because the anti-nationalisation votes were split between Conservatives and Liberals, but the same minority victory could happen even without this. When the South African Nationalists came to power in 1948, no candidate was elected on a "split vote", yet a 5-to-4 vote for Smuts' side produced a 5-to-4 majority of the contested seats for Malan's—the electoral system being the same as our own.

Such reversals of the popular will cannot be prevented under any system of election in single-member constituencies, because for a party to win

a seat it needs only a majority of one vote, and if it had every vote in the constituency it could win no more than this one seat. Hence, a party that is fortunate in having its voters so dispersed as to give it many small majorities will beat a party that has a larger total of votes but has them concentrated in a few places.

For a General Election to be a true test of public opinion on a particular issue, there must be, first, a wider choice for the voter (so that he may, for example, choose either a pro-Common Market Conservative or an anti-Common Market Conservative instead of being condemned to either the one or the other according to where he happens to live) and, second, a guarantee that the choice the voter makes will be reflected in the composition of the Parliament that results.

Only one electoral system fully meets both requirements; that is the single transferable vote form of proportional representation. The elector votes by numbering in the order of his preference as many of the candidates as he chooses, in constituencies each electing at least three members, and to be successful a candidate needs not a majority of the votes cast but a quota. Thus, for example, in a five-member constituency a group of voters amounting to about one-fifth of the whole will elect one of the five members and a group twice as large will elect two.

The numbering is an instruction to the returning officer that the vote shall be given in the first instance to the candidate the voter has marked "1", and that if it cannot help to elect him (either because he already has all the votes he needs, or because he has so few votes as to be without hope of election), it shall be transferred to the candidate the voter has marked "2", if it cannot help him either, then to the one the voter has marked "3", and so on if necessary until it reaches a candidate it can help to elect.

This in the first place removes all possibility of "splitting the vote" and therefore all need for limiting the voters' choice. Under our present system the Yarmouth Conservative Association must select only one candidate—*either* Mr Fell *or* some other individual; to allow the electors a choice between Conservative candidates of different shades would almost certainly mean presenting the seat to some other party on a "split vote." But if the vote is transferable the Association can quite safely nominate *both* candidates, and indeed any number more that may be needed to satisfy demands for the inclusion of a local man, a young candidate, a woman, a nuclear disarmament or any other type. Any such group can insist on having a candidate, without fear that this may harm the party's chances, and the voters alone will determine which candidates are elected and which rejected.

That is true even if the transferable vote is applied only to our existing single-member constituencies (the alternative vote). If it is applied to multi-member constituencies (PR), a party not only *may* nominate more than one candidate in a constituency but, if it is big enough to have hopes of winning more than one seat, *must* do so. Therefore it becomes virtually certain that, for example, Conservative voters everywhere would have a choice between pro-Common Market and anti-Common Market candidates.

of their own party. They might choose to elect either the one or the other, which they chose would determine the complexion of the parliamentary party. Moreover, the votes given to the various candidates would afford further evidence of popular support for their views: if two candidates of the same party were elected for the same constituency but one had far more first preferences than the other and came in, say, first while the other was fourth, this would be proof that his views were the more popular among the voters of that party. If, over the country as a whole, pro-Common Market candidates were consistently elected before anti-Common Market candidates of the same party (or vice versa), the voters' preference would be in no doubt.

This is not merely a matter of theory, for it was put to the test in similar circumstances forty years ago.

In the first election of the Irish Free State, in 1922, the question of whether to accept the Treaty offered by Britain was as vital to that country as our decision whether to accept the Treaty of Rome is to us now, and was even more hotly debated. The party leaders had come to an arrangement to avoid contests and present one agreed panel of candidates, but it was open to other candidates to come forward, and enough did so to force a contest in most constituencies. The voters then could—indeed had to—choose not only between panel and other candidates but between candidates within the panel. They could if they wished vote for all the panel candidates, but they could not avoid voting first for either a pro-Treaty or an anti-Treaty candidate. The result was that pro-Treaty candidates secured about two-thirds of the first-preference votes and about two-thirds of the seats. The will of the people was clear, and the Dail they elected was of a composition to give effect to it.

If we believe democracy to mean that the people decide who shall govern them and on what general lines, we must reform our electoral system so as to make this a reality.

WHY ALBANIA LEFT THE CAMP

DAVID FLOYD

NOBODY seems to know very much about Albania. Though it lies in the south of Europe on the Adriatic—nearer to us than Greece, no further than Yugoslavia and only fifty miles by sea from Italy, only a couple of hours from London by jet, if jets went to Tirana—yet this tiny Balkan country has rarely been in the news since the Second World War. Even those who have an idea where Albania is have only the haziest idea of what has been going on there for the last twenty years. “Albania, did you say? I know—wasn’t there a chap called Zog? What happened to him?”

It is not surprising, of course. Apart from some tenuous relations with France, Italy and Turkey, Albania has been cut off from the Western world since the war. Since Marshal Tito’s defection from the “Socialist camp”—the Albanians have been isolated even from their Communist allies. Now even their ties with the countries of Eastern Europe have been severed and they are left with the Chinese Communists as their only friends. Through accidents of politics and geography Albania has been left behind, almost forgotten by East and West alike.

The Albanians received very little publicity even during the heroic period of the last war. Their “partisan” efforts were submerged in the Yugoslav battles, and when the war was over the glory and the glamour went to Tito: few people ever heard of Enver Hoxha or Mehmet Shehu. The story was well told by Julian Amery in *Sons of the Eagle* and by Brigadier Davidson in *Illyrian Venture*. But, apart from the handful of people who had a direct connection with Albania and Albanian affairs, there were few who followed events there after the war.

It was not until 1948 that Albania came briefly into the news again, when Tito quarrelled with Stalin and Yugoslavia dropped out of the Soviet camp. No one would have been much surprised if Hoxha and the Albanian Communists had followed Tito. But, for reasons that were not clear at the time, he remained faithful to Moscow and for the next decade Albania’s relations with her Yugoslav neighbour were always bad and often came near to open warfare. The Albano-Yugoslav frontier was the scene of countless armed incidents and excursions and vitriolic abuse poured from the press and radio of both countries. From time to time a report of these goings-on found its way into the Western press. But on the whole there was little interest in what was happening in this remote corner of Europe. Few remembered that Russia had this isolated ally on the Adriatic. Some said there were Russian submarine bases at Vlore (Valona). But no one was sure and no one seemed to care.

It was only in 1960 that Albania again came into the news. It then became apparent that all was not well between Hoxha and Khrushchev, and reports appeared in the Western press that Hoxha was siding with the Chinese in their dispute with the Russians. Odd though the formation of a Peking-Tirana axis seemed, its existence was confirmed when in

1961 the Russians suddenly withdrew all their many "advisers" from Albania and their submarines steamed ostentatiously out of the Adriatic through the Mediterranean and back to Russia

At the end of 1961 came the final excommunication of Enver Hoxha from the company of Communist rulers loyal to Moscow, or at least to Khrushchev. At the Twenty-second Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow, Khrushchev turned on Hoxha and denounced him as a Stalinist. For the first time there was no Albanian delegation at the Congress, and Chou En-lai, the principal Chinese delegate, walked out before the end in protest at Khrushchev's treatment of the Albanians.

Shortly afterwards the Russians withdrew their diplomatic mission from Tirana and brought all economic aid to a halt. The other Communist governments of Eastern Europe withdrew their ambassadors and reduced representation in Albania to a minimum. Albania ceased to take part in any of the joint economic or military planning of the Communist world and was clearly, from the end of 1961, no longer an effective member of the Communist camp and in particular of its military organisation, the Warsaw Pact.

When I visited Albania in June this year I found the Soviet embassy deserted and work on the new, palatial embassy building at a standstill. There were plenty of signs of past Russian influence but none of actual Russians. In their place had come the Chinese, but not in great numbers.

There were still a few Czechs, Poles and East Germans—engineers and business men finishing off jobs already begun or supervising the continuing trickle of trade. But major projects planned with Soviet or East European aid were at a standstill. And the beautiful Adriatic beaches which had served the "new class" of European Communism as a playground for many years were deserted.

Albania had been cut off without a rouble. Why? And where do the Albanians go from here?

To understand how Albania arrived at her present state of isolation from East and West it is necessary to delve a little into Albanian history, and especially into the history of Albanian Communism.

Though there had been small Communist groups in Albania since the 'twenties, an Albanian Communist Party was not formed until November, 1941, and then it was on Yugoslav initiative. The various groups were brought together to fight for Albanian independence of Italy. Communism and nationalism were identified under Yugoslav guidance. The Albanian Communists' contact with Moscow and the Comintern was conducted through Belgrade.

When in September, 1944, the Communists seized power and formed the first post-war government, the dependence on Yugoslavia continued. Albania's relationship with Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia was similar to that between the countries of Eastern Europe and Russia. Economic plans were co-ordinated, joint stock companies set up, currencies made interchangeable and a customs union planned.

Yugoslav military and economic "advisers" moved into Albania in considerable numbers. In 1947 Yugoslavia contributed no less than 57 per

cent of the total Albanian budget. Within the Communist *bloc* Albania began to be treated as little more than an Appendix of Yugoslavia.

At the same time the Albanian Communist Party came to be dominated by men loyal to Belgrade, of whom the most powerful was Koci Xoxe, the Minister of the Interior. Among the victims of Xoxe's purges at the beginning of 1948 was Mehmet Shehu (now Prime Minister of Albania), who was dismissed as Chief of Staff and expelled from the Party Central Committee for opposing a Yugoslav demand to station two divisions on Albanian territory.

According to the former Yugoslav leader, Milovan Djilas, it was this move which alerted Stalin to Tito's plans in the Balkans. Up to this point Stalin had regarded Albania as a satellite of Yugoslavia and had encouraged the Yugoslavs to "gobble it up". At the beginning of 1948, however, he appears suddenly to have changed his attitude completely and to have decided to withdraw all his support from Tito, in the hope, no doubt, of bringing Tito to his knees.

For the Albanian Communist leaders who resented Yugoslav tutelage Tito's exclusion from the Cominform was a heaven-sent opportunity to rid themselves of domination by Belgrade. Enver Hoxha, who had been secretary-general of the Communist Party since its foundation and had managed to remain in that position through the "Yugoslav" period, carried out a purge of "Titoists", starting with Xoxe, who was arrested and executed. Mehmet Shehu took over Xoxe's job as Minister of the Interior in October, 1948, and became a deputy Prime Minister and member of the Politburo. He has remained to this day the "strong man" of the Tirana régime.

It is thus clear that Albanian Communism, born in the heat of battles against a foreign occupying power and given its present shape in resistance to an over-fortunate neighbour, contained from the very beginning a strong element of pure nationalism. Moreover, when Hoxha and Shehu proved loyal to Stalin in 1948, it was not so much because they were "Stalinists" or men of Moscow as because they were of necessity anti-Tito and because the Russians alone could offer them the aid they needed to get their country on its feet. It was not ideology but sheer necessity that kept Albania in the "socialist camp".

There is a special aspect of Yugoslav-Albanian relations that must also be mentioned here. It follows from the fact that there are at least 800,000, and possibly as many as a million, Albanians living in the Kossovo region in Yugoslavia—or nearly half as many as live in the whole of Albania itself. This Albanian community has been carefully organised and indoctrinated by the Yugoslav Communists and probably enjoys a better standard of living today than its brothers in Albania. If Tito had ever succeeded in "gobbling up" Albania proper, the Kossovars would no doubt have gobbled up the indigenous Albanian Communists. This threat remains over any talk of reconciliation between Belgrade and Tirana. There is also the threat from the Albanian side—unvoiced so far but hinted at—that the Kossovo should be returned to Albania.

Just as Marshal Tito's breach with Stalin brought smiles to the faces

of the Albanian leaders, so it was inevitable that Mr. Khrushchev's attempts, beginning in 1955, to heal the breach should cause Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shëhu concern. They sulked when Khrushchev made his reluctant apology to Tito, rejoiced when at the end of 1956 the Hungarian revolt appeared to have discredited "revisionism" and Tito too, but their faces fell again when, despite the setbacks, Khrushchev showed he intended to patch things up with the Yugoslavs.

It is difficult to say exactly at what moment Russians and Albanians recognised that their ways must part. But it seems probable that Khrushchev's visit to Albania in the summer of 1959 marked the turning point in Albano-Soviet relations. He apparently went there with the intention of bringing his forceful personality to bear on Hoxha and the other Albanian leaders and effecting a reconciliation between them and the Yugoslav leaders. Marshal Tito was reported to be expecting a summons to Tirana for that very purpose.

But the summons never came. Khrushchev's visit dragged on day after day with an occasional speech protesting "lasting friendship" between the Albanians and the Russians, but with no signs of a change in attitude towards Yugoslavia. From the scraps that have been picked up since it seems certain that the exchanges between Khrushchev and Hoxha were at times very heated. Among other complaints Hoxha was almost certainly incensed at a report that Khrushchev had promised a left-wing Greek politician to press the Albanians for a revision of the Albano-Greek frontier. Khrushchev was offering comfort to both Albania's non-Communist and traditionally hostile neighbours! The Albanian Communists, full of their plans for turning Albania into a flourishing "industrial-agrarian" country, were not pleased to hear Khrushchev advise them to be the market-garden and health resort of the Communist camp. Khrushchev himself must have been furious to find so much resistance to his plans from such an insignificant and apparently helpless nation. In the end he was forced to return to Moscow empty-handed, and from that moment the ultimate exclusion of Enver Hoxha and his supporters from the company of good Communists was, I am sure, decided.

That is not to say that Khrushchev had already abandoned Albania itself. What he had failed to achieve by persuasion he now tried to bring about by cruder means. By the end of 1959 the Albanians were beginning to feel the effects of the curtailment of Soviet economic aid. It seems clear that some time in the spring or summer of 1960 an attempt was made, by pro-Russian Albanian Communists to remove Hoxha and seize power in Tirana. It failed, but Hoxha was absent from the meeting of East European Communist leaders in Bucharest in June and the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in October.

As it happened, 1959 was a more than usually disastrous year for Albanian agriculture. Both floods and drought ruined the harvest, and the Russians did not scorn to use the threat of famine as a lever to bring Hoxha to heel. But even this failed. The Albanians, said Hoxha, would eat grass rather than submit. They must have come very near to doing so that year.

The rest of the story is better known. By the middle of 1961 practically all the Russian and East European military and economic advisers and specialists had been withdrawn. At the end of the year Moscow severed relations with Tirana. At the same time the Albanians set about replacing Soviet by Chinese aid and succeeded in getting Peking to promise some £45 million. The Chinese mission to Tirana began to expand, Chinese advisers began to arrive to replace Russians, Czechs and Germans, and an Albano-Chinese shipping line was set up to deal with the problem of communications.

When Tito was excluded from the Communist club in 1948 he had no natural ally to whom he could turn for aid or friendship in the whole Communist movement. The excommunication was complete, and he had no choice but to enter into relations with the Western Powers.

Enver Hoxha was in a rather more fortunate position, in that the Chinese Communists were by 1960 on very bad terms with the Khrushchev régime. They were as deeply opposed to Tito and Khrushchevian "revisionism" as were the Albanians, though for quite different reasons. Hoxha naturally lent his support, for what it was worth, to the Chinese in their opposition to Khrushchev and even provided the Chinese with a channel through which they could say things (for example, about the rôle of the "Khrushchev group" in Moscow) which they did not care to say in their own speeches and articles. In return the Chinese agreed to extend at least sufficient aid to enable the Tirana régime to weather the storm of Khrushchev's displeasure.

In 1961, when the Russian and other advisers were leaving and Chinese were seen to be taking their places, it seemed as though the Chinese were going to move into Albania on the same scale as the Russians had been there. My impression in 1962 was that Chinese involvement was more limited than had been expected. I suspect that their attitude is similar to that adopted by the Western powers towards Tito after 1948: they are prepared to do enough to "keep Hoxha afloat". They have provided emergency food supplies and they have sent some much-needed tractors. Whether they will commit themselves to aiding the Communists' plans for industrial development remains to be seen.

Albania is a terribly poor and backward country. Only about a fifth of its 10,000 square miles can be cultivated. Over two-thirds of its 1,700,000 population still scrapes a living from this difficult soil. A quarter of the adult male population is in the army, the police or the administration.

This very poverty is probably an asset to the present régime. The possibilities of dissident political or intellectual activity are very small. The Communists have maintained their rule with extreme brutality which they claim is justified by constant Yugoslav, and now Russian, subversive activities.

To all outward appearances Enver Hoxha is the undisputed master of Albania. He appears to have complete control of Party, Government and Police. A high proportion of the members of the Party Central Committee are his relatives. It is a very Balkan form of Communist

dictatorship, in which sudden death is the customary reward for opposition to the régime.

But the impression given by some observers that Albanian Communism is a purely personal affair of Hoxha and his family is, I think, mistaken. He is not the only political figure of significance. Indeed, he has around him a group of leaders who have shown remarkable survival value. Eight of the nine members of the Politburo of the Albanian Communist Party have held that position for at least ten years. Only one top leader—a woman—has been purged. This must mean at least that, ever since the break with Yugoslavia, there has been general agreement among Albania's top ten about the course they must follow. There appears to have been no serious dispute among them about the need for opposing Khrushchev and risking a break with Moscow, however dangerous a step that must have appeared for the Hoxha régime to take.

But it would be a mistake, I think, to conclude from this that the present régime in Albania is primarily a nationalist movement forced to wear Communist colours. What is true rather is that the traditionally nationalist appeals—against the Yugoslavs, against the Greeks, against big-power interference in Albania's affairs—happen to coincide at the moment with the interests of the Communist rulers of Albania. They were *forced* to resist Yugoslav encroachments in 1948 because otherwise Albanian Communism would have been smothered in Yugoslav Communism and the present Albanian leaders would by now have been eliminated. Since then relations between Hoxha and Tito have been kept at such a pitch as to make reconciliation impossible and the Albanian leaders have beaten the nationalist drum too long and too hard to come to terms with the Yugoslavs. Their own survival as rulers is involved.

The Albanian people must certainly suffer in the immediate future from the effects of the withdrawal of Soviet aid. It may not have been over-generous. But it was certainly substantial, and neither the Chinese nor the Western powers are likely to assume the same obligations as the Russians did towards Albania. It is the Albanian people, of course, who will have to bear the brunt of these economic difficulties.

Whether the present phase is only transitional and whether Enver Hoxha will ultimately admit (as he has not done yet) that Albania is no longer part of the Communist world, and will turn to the West for aid, as Tito did in his day, is difficult to say. There are few signs that he will do so at the moment.

For the time being Hoxha relies on Peking. And so long as the Sino-Soviet dispute continues he can presumably be sure of receiving enough aid to keep him and his régime going.

TRINIDAD AND INDEPENDENCE

SAVILLE JACKSON

ON August 31, the island of Trinidad attained Independence within the Commonwealth. Trinidad is unusual in that none of the population is indigenous. There is no native language and no native religion, for the island is populated by Africans who are the descendants of slaves, by Indians whose parents and grandparents were imported from India as indentured labourers, by white people (British, of course, and the descendants of the French and Spanish who have fought over the island during the last few centuries), by a small number of Chinese, and even by Syrians.

The party which is at present in power, and will have the initial shaping of the country after it leaves the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, is the left-wing People's National Movement, consisting mainly of the Negro element, and headed by the Premier, Dr Eric Williams, a Doctor of Economics from Howard, the American University for people of African descent.

Party politics did not emerge in a big way in Trinidad until 1956, when the People's National Movement, then only eight months old, was swept into power. The Opposition, the Democratic Labour Party, roughly equivalent to our Tory Party, consisting mainly of Indians, white and Chinese, accused the PNM constantly of following a racialist policy, but nevertheless the latter came into power again with an even greater majority in 1961. This was the occasion when the famous voting machines were used—imported at fantastic cost, going wrong at the crucial moment, and bringing forth vehement protests that the election had been rigged.

Thus the success of Trinidad as an independent nation lies, in spite of the very mixed population, in the hands of the Negro race. To see how people feel about their future prospects, I took at random a cross-section of the community and questioned them, with no pre-conceived ideas of what their answers were likely to be. The following are some of the more interesting of the opinions I was given —

A planter said to me sadly "Independence? No, I hate the thought of it. My family has been here for four generations, and I'm afraid I shall be the last of the line. There will be very little future for white people out here. My children are being educated in England, and I hope they will stay and work there as well. I know that if my son and a coloured boy of the same educational standard were competing for a job out here, the coloured boy would win. It's rather a bitter thought, considering that white people were here first. I only wish I could sell my estates and go home, too, but the value of land has fallen badly with things being so uncertain. I just don't see how the island is to support itself: no West Indian export can compete with the world market. Up to now our exports have been protected by Britain. Take sugar, for instance—England has been paying 42/- a ton for it, whereas the world price is 21/-, and Cuba sells at only 17/- a ton. Our cocoa can't compete in quantity with West Africa, in spite of its excellent flavouring quality; our citrus fruit and oil exports

FOLD YOUR COSTUME

Beyond the junk-shop of the mind
 There lies a curtained inner room,
 Here the hurt soul, unconfined,
 Can breathe again and touch a bloom
 Unbruised by grasping hands outside,
 Take off your shoes, bring nothing
 in,

Fold your costume, harlequin—
 The masquerading self has died
 PHOEBE HESKETH

GUINEA PIG

He had no choice
 They took him, stripped him,
 and divided his pelt,
 Dissected him according to the
 will of God—
 Free-will must bend and melt
 Into God's will for man to be saved
 Cruel to be kind?
 There is the edge felt
 In impossible division
Thou shalt not kill hammers into
 the mind
 That would save life
 Dilemma more pointed than nails
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can't compete with the Middle East It's all very depressing A lot of us feel Britain has let us down by clearing out now"

Conversely, the following opinion came from an educated Negro, a strong supporter of the PNM With a veneer of polish acquired at a Western University, he apologised at frequent intervals for his seeming discourtesy

"Why, you surely cannot expect us to let ourselves be downtrodden for a moment longer than we can help? The British Empire, thank goodness, is a thing of the past Britain has exploited her colonies to the full and given little in return It's been a white man's world for a long time, but we have a saying now, 'De Massa's day is done,' and that's a fact which is going to make itself felt very soon

"Now Trinidad is going into business for itself, and we're going to make a better job of governing it than the British have You introduced an excellent code of justice, but that's about all We're going to start free education, and soon we'll have free hospitalisation for our people Oh, we're not as backward as you think, you'll see Look how our African brothers are making themselves felt now. Nobody's going to exploit us and treat us like slaves for much longer The Wind of Change is blowing this way, too"

Against this came, surprisingly, the opinion of the middle-aged cook working for a friend of mine, who summed up the feelings of the domestic servant class, albeit Negro: "Oh Lord, we going to be out of de frying pan into de fire. Already we have 60,000 out of work on the island. If the British go, who are de maids like me going to work for? Not other black people! De whites always treat me fair, and I ain't wanting no change. That Dr Williams, he living well; he eating and drinking big. He ain't do *nothing* for me or my family yet. He always promising jobs on de roads, and then de roads run out of money as soon as my son go to work on them. No, I rather keep the people who give me employment."

A white business man, also fourth generation West Indian, had different views from my planter friend. He thought that Independence was an excellent step for the island, but that it would be a struggle to make people realize what the word means. "The Premier's new slogan is 'discipline, production and tolerance', a phrase which is perpetually reiterated in his speeches," he told me. "As in all countries which try to achieve the status of a welfare state, I am afraid there are bound to be bigger taxes, less money, and higher prices. The maintenance of discipline over this is going to be our biggest stumbling block. I dread the idea that in careless hands the country may be run into bankruptcy, but I think we should have a go at looking after ourselves all the same. Yes, in the long run, and with great care, I think we'll be all right."

The Indians, almost to a man, are full of apprehension. There is no love lost between them and the Negroes now. When I first lived and worked in Trinidad eleven years ago, there was a wonderfully happy and friendly atmosphere among all races. I used to go to work every day in a cruising taxi picked up on the main road, which might contain a representative of four or five different races as fellow-passengers. Since then, on subsequent, quite lengthy visits to the island, I have been struck by the marked change of atmosphere. I should certainly not contemplate travelling in one of these taxis now for fear either of insult to myself as a white woman, or of friction between fellow-passengers of different races. Everywhere is this uncomfortable feeling of trouble just waiting to explode; the Indians feel it just as badly as the white people. As a race, they are increasing so rapidly that in ten years' time they will outnumber the Negroes, but they feel that by then it will be too late for hideous mistakes to be rectified. "How can democracy, as the UK knows it, be practised in a multiracial society where personal emotion can so easily turn into administrative injustice?" an Indian merchant asked me. "It's a dreadful mistake to let a party of one race come into power. The African has no background, and is purely a product of Western civilization. Anybody who is a product of someone else's ideas is resentful of them. And so the people, so recently primitive, who are running our government, our police and our Civil Service, are going to have a huge chip on their shoulders, against their late white masters, and against the Indians, who are a purer race, have a steadier background and a readier intelligence. The British showed us in India that they are good and just administrators;

I wish they were staying. I don't see our future as a pretty one; I fear that blood will run."

I was interested to meet a woman school teacher who was one part English, one part Negro, and two parts Indian, and wondered how her mixed ancestry affected her thinking. "Well, I'm all right job-wise, whichever way the wind blows!" she smiled. "I can claim whichever race I want to. But I'm not happy about the future of the island at all. Prices have gone up already since Independence has been in sight. New Customs duties are being imposed to help the five-year development programme (more roads, more schools, more industries), and as we haven't got half enough money to implement this plan, they'll go up higher still, and the Government will be borrowing left, right and centre. We already have this terrible unemployment problem. Now that England will no longer take our immigrants, there will be 9,000 people reaching employable age per year, with no means of absorbing them. We're just going to be another over-populated, under-developed country. As a teacher, I can tell you how incredibly ignorant these people are. The Government can tell them anything; they'll believe it, I'm afraid a lot of them are being misled. No, I wouldn't say we're ready for Independence for another twenty years."

There were many Negroes I met, who are insultingly anxious to see us go, having been influenced by anti-white propaganda. They are the type who will deliberately walk in the path of your car, and if you hoot your horn, however gently, for their own safety, will delight in shouting imprecations and abuse, such as—to take the mildest—"You . . . whites go home!" They have no idea of their real problems, and are only saying what they have been told to say, with no thought of what it means.

I was extraordinarily disturbed by the emotional state of everyone I talked to in this hitherto delightful and friendly island, and feel that the Indian merchant's prognostication that blood will run may well prove true.

As to the economic situation, perhaps the best summing-up came from a prominent English business man, who remarked somewhat equivocally: "Why, I think Trinidad has as much chance with Independence as Britain has with the Common Market."

ETHIOPIA EMERGENT

ESTHER ROBERTS

ETHIOPIA is a land of paradoxes and anachronisms. The forces of progress have for years been symbolized by the Emperor Haile Selassie, who gains much of his power from the Coptic Church, which is one of the greatest forces of reaction. Haile Selassie is unique. To a great extent, he is modern Ethiopia, and should anything happen to him there are many forces which could disrupt the country and have repercussions throughout Africa.

Ethiopia has an area of 350,000 square miles and an estimated population of 18 million. From time immemorial it has been the bridge between Africa and Asia, but, in the past, it has had little in common with Black Africa. Until 1959 it regarded itself as belonging to the Middle East. Haile Selassie then made a bid to become a leader of Emergent Africa. The ruling class, the Amharas, who comprise about one-third of the population, do not regard themselves as black and were wont to consider it an insult to be called a "shankalla", a "black". The indigenous inhabitants of this area, called in Biblical times the Land of Cush, were Hamites. The Semites crossed the Red Sea and fused with them, creating a ruling class which enslaved the Nilotic Tribes and the Blacks of the west and south, and founded kingdoms which have endured for 3,000 years. At a late stage in their history they recognised one ruler as King of Kings, but Haile Selassie is the first Negus to have had control of the whole country. Even his control is not very strict in outlying areas.

Brigadier Stephen Longrigg describes the Hamites thus: "first cousins of the early Egyptians, second cousins of the Berbers and Tuaregs and (since the Hamite is a Caucasian) third cousin of the races of Europe." The Hamito-Semites call themselves "white", while the Europeans are described as "pinks" and the Negroes are the "blacks". Today hatred of the white man is more bitter in Ethiopia than in almost any of the Black States.

Events in modern Africa move quickly. Only a few years ago John Gunther could write "There is practically no contact, cultural or economic with Black Africa." About the same time Oden Meeker told of the snub to the Liberian Secretary of State, who had suggested greater diplomatic and cultural exchange between Liberia and Ethiopia, "because of their community of interest", and was asked "What community of interest?" But in a few years their attitude has changed. First came greater contact with the Black States, culminating in the choice of Addis Ababa as the centre for the Economic Commission for Africa. Then Haile Selassie decided to make a bid for the leadership of the New Africa. Ethiopia was one of the founder-members of the United Nations and the oldest kingdom in the world, and Haile Selassie had considerable prestige as one of the world's elder statesmen, but first he had to draw away from the West, with which he had been so closely associated. The Ethiopian Ministry of Information reminded the Black States that Ethiopia "looks back with pride to the days when almost alone she held the torch of

freedom and independence on this Continent" In 1959 Haile Selassie went to Moscow and received an offer of aid for his country.

Ethiopia is of the greatest significance to Africa because the highlands have some of the richest agricultural soil in the world and members of the staff of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization estimated that it is capable of raising enough food to feed about 60 million people Ethiopia has always been unwilling to allow foreign countries to invest capital, or to receive help in developing the country, but the Emperor, in his efforts to modernise it, was forced to accept help from America under the Four Point programme, and also from the United Nations Today Russia is helping Ethiopia and gaining the foothold in Africa that she has been seeking Despite all his efforts to educate the people, only about 10 per cent are literate Because he had so few trained helpers the Emperor was obliged to rely on the assistance of foreigners It had always been his policy to have a large number of foreign advisers and to play them off one against the other A few years ago he had American, Swedish, British, Norwegian, Danish, Japanese, Greek, Swiss, German, Yugoslav advisers and both Red and White Russians But now the picture is very different, most of the foreigners have gone, except the Yugoslavs, who are still in favour, and the Russians who have succeeded the Americans

Although Haile Selassie is prepared to play off the Free World against the Communist countries, no one has any doubt of his integrity For years it has been fashionable to claim that the Communists were firmly entrenched in Addis Ababa There was no truth in this, but there is a very real danger that they may gain control of the country if Haile Selassie dies He recently celebrated his 70th birthday Unfortunately, he has no suitable heir His heir, the Duke of Harar, was killed in a motor accident in 1958, and his son, who is likely to succeed Haile Selassie, is still a schoolboy It is common knowledge that the Crown Prince will not accept the throne and intends to live in America after his father's death It is almost inevitable that if the Emperor dies before his grandson is grown up, there will be civil war and that this time the Communist forces in the country will be openly supported by Russia The aim of the 1960 revolt was to create a Communist People's Republic and, had it succeeded, even had he been willing, Wasan would not long have remained king, a Communist dictatorship would have ruled Ethiopia

Haile Selassie thought that he got the best of the bargain that he struck with Russia in 1959, but it looks as if he has overestimated his ability to keep the Communist forces in check Russia agreed to establish a technical school in Ethiopia and train young Ethiopian technicians, who will naturally be key-men and who will also be indoctrinated by the Russians Russia also agreed to build an oil refinery at Assab to refine Russian oil in sufficient quantities to supply the whole country The Emperor has not forced Western companies to leave, but the Russians are prepared to undersell them

Haile Selassie has many enemies and enough problems to daunt a less courageous man, but he continues his attempt to modernize his country

The past and the present are inextricably mixed and one of the phenomena of Emergent Africa is the way in which ancient ambitions can be revived. Since the day of the Pharaohs, Egypt has wanted to control the sources of the Nile. Lake Tana in the Province of Shoa is the source of the Blue Nile, the Atbara and many other tributaries of the great river arise in the Ethiopian highlands. When in spate the waters of the Blue Nile are seven times that of the White. On more than one occasion during its history, Ethiopia has threatened to divert the waters of the Nile. So long as Britain controlled the Sudan, Ethiopia was safe, but Islamic forces in Northern Africa might easily combine to bring pressure to bear on her. In Ethiopia itself the Somalis and the Danakils and half the large Hamitic tribe of the Gallas are Moslems and the Province of Harar to which the Emperor belongs is a Moslem centre.

Haile Selassie derives much of his influence from the Coptic Church, which plays an enormous part, both economically and politically, in the country, although only about half the population is Christian. About 350 AD Bishop Frumentius, an Egyptian Copt, converted the King of Aksum, who claimed descent from King Solomon and Sheba, Queen of Aksum, to Christianity. It is estimated that one in five of the adult males of the ruling class is a priest. The priests are devout but ignorant and unreliable. Until 1950 the Abuna, or Metropolitan, was appointed by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria from the Egyptian monastery of Saint Anthony. The Abuna, who wielded great powers, was thus always an Egyptian, and there was no strict division between religious and secular power, and so the Emperor and the Abuna were often in conflict. Haile Selassie decided to end this intolerable position and, when the Egyptian Abuna died he insisted that the next Abuna be an Ethiopian. Many die-hard Copts have not yet forgiven him and are a potential source of trouble. On the other hand, the Eritreans feel that they are too advanced to live happily in a country which, until a very few years ago, had a legal code based on the Justinian. Although most of the inhabitants of Eritrea are of the same Hamito-Semitic stock, they are far more democratic than the Ethiopians and during the period after the end of World War II, when Britain administered the colony, they made great advances politically.

In some parts contact with the outside world has brought about rapid development. Other regions have changed but little. Haile Selassie's great task is to judge the pace at which the whole country can advance. Both his strength and his weakness lie in the fact that only he can do this.

Durban, Natal.

HOLIDAY IN MOROCCO

JANE PICTON

IN May my friend and I had a wonderful holiday in Morocco, for our first introduction led us to many charming and friendly people who took us in and made us welcome in a way which sometimes came near to overwhelming us. Our good fortune in meeting so many Moroccans enabled us to see, learn and understand much more than we should otherwise have done, though I can only try here to recapture glimpses of the Morocco we saw and convey, perhaps, some of the warm friendliness and charm which pervaded our holiday, for our brief three weeks do not qualify me to do more.

Morocco is a country of contrasts, not the least of them geographical, for contrary to many people's expectations the desert forms only about a quarter of the total area. The green Rif mountains, stretching along the Mediterranean coast, and the Atlas range running diagonally up from Agadir, join at right angles in the North-East corner of Morocco, forming an F-shaped barrier facing the Atlantic with its back to the rest of Africa. Between the Atlas range and the Atlantic is a vast plain, punctuated in the centre by the Moyen Atlas as the bar of the F. Behind the Atlas to the South are the Anti-Atlas and finally the desert, merging at the frontier with the Algerian Sahara.

We started our holiday in Tangier, now the King's summer capital. Anyone on a day trip from Gibraltar could be excused for saying that he could see nothing to indicate that it had once been a Free Port. It has lost some of its cosmopolitan flavour and some prosperity since its full integration with Morocco, but the more we divined its several worlds, for it is a natural confluence of cultures and peoples, and the more we realised the beauty of its setting, the more we felt its peculiar charm.

A young Moroccan we met there invited us to his home, a small, thick-walled, square white house, where his mother, smiling, but speaking no French, made us mint tea. The furniture in most of the houses we visited, great and small, consisted of comfortable low divans running round three sides of the room, low round tables and always a photograph of the King. Even in rich homes there seemed to be very few possessions.

This young friend took us to what I can only describe as a Moroccan "pub", where the drinks were mint tea or coffee. Groups of people, among them women, were passing the evening drinking, chatting amicably and watching television. There are about two hours of television a day in Rabat and Tangier so far.

Our first bus journey was through the Rif in the former Spanish zone. We spoke no Spanish and were very relieved to find that the porters at the seething terminus where we changed buses took complete charge of us, buying our tickets and getting us ensconced on the right bus. We enjoyed these journeys very much and found people always ready to help us, the bus drivers in particular being very reliable. On one journey a bottle of our coca cola exploded as a Moroccan was trying to open it for

us, spraying everywhere, but the great good humour of all who were affected prevented it from being an awkward moment, and a veiled woman next to us regaled those around with an orange, borrowing our knife to peel it. We looked forward to this unaffected friendliness and the camaraderie that we always witnessed on these journeys. The interests of one seemed the interests of all, and a straying child could adopt parents at will. Everyone lent a hand with loading and unloading, hoisting on to the roof bicycles, open baskets of grain, suitcases and sometimes livestock, all of which came down surprisingly unscathed, though, in the case of animals, very shaken.

The relationship between people seemed little influenced by the often very obvious differences in their way of life and standard of living. One Moroccan we met asked us quite unexpectedly whether we had noticed this, and attributed it to the Muslim religion, taught in the home, which created a common bond between them. Islam sought to guide men in everyday as well as spiritual life, demanding of them not change but obedience to its settled pattern of life. In contrast to this, Christianity required men to change. As a result, early Christians had brought about great changes in society which had eventually affected the Christian world to such an extent that Christians, he considered, were now restless, for they no longer saw clearly their course and yet the essential dynamism of Christianity demanded some action of them. He had read the Bible and felt it must be simpler to follow the tenets of the Koran. We found the conversation often turned this way, and it seemed to us a country where there is a strong sense of religion.

We noticed that the rules and practices governing the life of Moroccan women vary from household to household, and though some keep to the old ways, others have ceased, partially or entirely, to observe them. Dress varies accordingly, some women wearing the flowing white haik, others the djelaba, a long straight hooded coat, and some western clothes with no veil. In towns most men wear suits, using the djelaba as a coat. The people of the mud hut villages in the country have their own dress, being mostly Berber.

We were at first somewhat confused by the term Berber, but later discovered that Morocco has two cultures, Berber and Arab, entirely distinct in origin and forms of expression. The Berbers were, in their various groups, the original inhabitants of the land, though many peoples have come and gone during its history. The Arabs, who followed them into Spain, began to settle only in the late seventh century. Many of those later expelled from Spain took refuge in Morocco, bringing with them several traces of their long Spanish sojourn, and still today Spain seems to hold a special place in the affections of many Moroccans. The Arabs founded one dynasty, those that followed being Berber, the second stemming from Senegal and the sixth and present Alouite dynasty from the Dra Valley in the south.

Arabic is not spoken by all Berbers, whose language is Shleuh, a language of many dialects, and their folklore and music are equally distinct, African rather than Arab. There are several, increasingly publicised, local

festivals, but I doubt if these can match the pleasure of wandering between little groups of people on the Djmaa el Fna in Marrakesh, almost the only remaining place where Moroccan crowds can gather round dancers, singers, snake charmers, magicians or story-tellers and while away countless and uncounted hours

Now often it is the theatre and cinema which provide entertainment. Besides the serious theatre there are companies devoted to comedy and burlesque, and amateur groups. A large new theatre has recently been built in Rabat, though we found some conflict of opinion about the necessity for it. One Frenchman we met maintained that not for many years to come would its size be justified by that of its audience, while some young Moroccans, to whom we suggested this, said that the old theatres were quite inadequate. It seemed to us that there was great enthusiasm for both the theatre and the cinema. Films come from many countries. Britain, America and Russia besides France. French is the second language in most parts, and we noticed that though older women often did not speak it, most girls did, for many are now getting the same education as boys. Great efforts are being made throughout the country to increase the number of school places and teachers to meet the demand. We were shown round the school in Chauen by one of the pupils, aged about thirteen, who spoke excellent French, and besides the classroom, so familiar to us with its wooden desks, blackboards and pictures, we saw the room where the girls learn to weave intricately patterned carpets.

Chauen is a picturesque little town huddled at the foot of a mountain. It was built in 1476 by Arab refugees from Spain, and with its climbing, narrow, cobbled alleyways and white and blue washed houses roofed with rounded orange tiles it has an air about it of the northern Mediterranean. We had an introduction to the Super Caid of Bab-Taze, who invited us to an excellent meal of *cus-cus*, a national dish. While visiting him we were interested to meet two of the masters from the school we had seen, a Lebanese and an Egyptian. The Super Caid and his wife drove us round the mountainous roads between acres of olives and cork oaks, and the Super Caid explained the great drive to plant trees, which started before Independence and which we noticed particularly in the North. He told us the main cereal crops were barley and maize, and we saw sowing by hand and reaping by sickle in the mountain fields, though machines were used in the plains.

The Super Caid explained to us that he administered a large stretch of country, having under him Caid and Sherifs responsible for sections of his area. In a large town there is a separate administration controlled by a Pasha. Such appointments are made by the King, and though previously nominees were often drawn from those who had attended the Koranic schools, there is now a relatively new University in Rabat devoted to training in local government. Some students, after completing this course, study other systems in France and America, though one young Caid who had spent a year in America told us that no American methods could yet be applied in Morocco.

The Karauiyine University, built by two sisters, and the most important

Islamic University in the country, is in Fes, and together with the shrine of Moulay Idriss, first Arab to spread the Muslim faith in Morocco, makes this city the spiritual centre of the land. It is walled, like the other imperial cities, Meknes, Marrakesh and Rabat, and modern development has taken the form of a separate "new town" somewhat apart from the old city. The only real view of Fes is from a hill high above, near the tombs of the Merinides, whose capital it was. From here you can see the minarets of its many mosques, but the high walls and closely packed houses conceal all movement and the city lies mysterious and still, though in reality the streets are bustling and jostling with life. Some of these streets have a faintly Tudor air, imparted by the jutting upper stories of the buildings which line them. We were in Fes on the first day of one of the most important religious feasts, the Aid el Kebir, the Great Feast, at which the head of each family kills a sheep. We were loth to be caught up in the killing and emerged only in time to see the women washing the sheepskins outside the walls.

There is a double ceremony in Rabat, ancient seaport and modern capital, on the third day of the feast. In the morning the King receives all the Pashas, Super Caid, Caid and Sherifs in audience and in the afternoon they gather in the Meshor, the former place of petition, and pay him homage, wishing him a good feast. Before watching the public part of the ceremony we were invited to lunch, with some of those taking part, by a Caid whose father owned a house in the old part of the town. Such magnificent dwellings are apparently becoming fewer as they are sold in favour of modern, less cumbersome houses. After a formal Moroccan meal with many delicious courses we went to wait with the crowds in front of the Palace. The King rode out of the gates accompanied by his six traditional riderless horses to a fanfare from the mounted Garde Noire and a high pitched sound that I can only describe as drawn out ululations from the women in the crowd. The Governors from each region bowed in turn and dispersed to allow the King to ride forward to the next line.

Pending the completion of the constitution the King acts as Prime Minister, and his office is adjacent to the Palace, together with those of a few other Ministries. From our brief glimpse of the Ministère des Travaux Publiques it seemed that, though modern, they have retained a traditional Moroccan air, with carved cedar, mosaics, marble and finely chiselled plaster. We were a little surprised to find parking meters in Rabat, and to see so much modern architecture in the new fashionable district just outside the town where the official residences for many Ministers are being built. We also saw very poor districts round Rabat, for the problem of housing near the towns is very acute.

Rabat seemed a slightly self-conscious city and it was pleasant to be in Meknes, which I found the most impressive of the imperial cities. Its greatness was due to Moulay Ismael, one of the first of the present dynasty and a contemporary of Louis XIV. Symbol of its massive nature is the Victors Gate which still houses scribes in little nooks in its great walls.

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MISS POLAND OF THE SIXTIES

AXEL HEYST

MISS Poland of the 'sixties is a different person from the girl of the 'forties or 'fifties. There are several reasons for that change and the fading nightmare of the late war is surely one of them. The young Polish girl of today was born during the war, but has since been reared and educated away from its brutal reach. Housing conditions, atrocious until 1955, have shown signs of improvement. Today many families in Warsaw and other places are decently housed and lodged. The cramped conditions in which young people lived, so poignantly described by Hlasko in his stories, have undoubtedly been eased. Girls and women used to suffer from those conditions far more than men, for them the lack of privacy meant a constant threat both to modesty and to coquetry. It also harmed the first stirrings of love, of rightful freshness and of the chance to develop.

In 1945 (and later) all Polish girls with a few bright exceptions, looked very "proletarian" and their faces had even a peasant-like stamp of hardness. They not only had no proper flats and "digs" in which to wash and to care for themselves; they also lacked aids to beauty, no cosmetics, either Polish or foreign. But slowly a change came over Poland. Rising prosperity, recovery from wartime devastation, reconstruction of towns and, above all, a better balanced diet, have done the trick. Polish girls now have rosy cheeks. They are taller than the generation which was twenty or around twenty in 1945 and in 1950. They have better facilities for sports. The Poles are not a nation of onlookers: they practise skating, ski-ing, tennis, sailing and rowing. Now they know more about diet. They resent very much the fact that they haven't enough lemons and oranges and fruit to go round, the supply of citrus fruit to Poland is still inadequate. A modern Polish girl will ask after a few minutes' conversation how Western girls dress, what is fashionable there and how they feed. "Of course, they have all that fruit at their disposal," they sigh, "so they can keep slim, we still eat too much starch and too many potatoes."

A phenomenon, noticed by diligent observers in West Germany after 1948, recently appeared in Poland: after several years of uniformity, of faces marked by malnutrition, of a "proletarian" look among the crowds, social classes would emerge, one could identify on sight a man from the liberal professions, a civil servant, an office girl, or a shop-girl. Social grades had begun to develop particular features, and this differentiation is one of the first signs of return to "normalcy."

The standard of beauty, which had suffered a sad decline in 1945 and in the early 'fifties, has greatly improved. Polish girls held a high opinion of their charm and beauty, on the whole exaggerated, and though witty, intelligent and well-educated, they often lacked the physical qualities of, say, an English or a Swedish girl. Now changed conditions have influenced traditional physical characteristics, even more pronounced in the immediate post-war period, and one can see in Warsaw and elsewhere

tall, slim girls, leggy girls, well-shod, well-dressed, sporting Western hair-do fashions, from "pony tail" to "Italian cut"

This change is noticeable not only in the theatre and in films, where young actresses display every shade of beauty from the Sophia Loren type to the Bardot version. Not alone are the new recruits in the Polish theatre, flourishing both in Warsaw and in the provinces, and in the modern Polish films. The girls one meets in *kawiarnias*, the coffee houses, beloved by Poles, and in shops and in the streets, have an impressive, well-developed physique. The percentage of lovely girls is not as high as in England or Sweden, or as in Italy or Spain, but it is rising.

What are the ambitions and desires of Miss Poland of the 'sixties? She wishes to be well-housed and well-dressed, and if she had to choose between food and clothing, she would rather go hungry than not buy herself a new *apaszka*, a Parisian scarf, or an exciting pull-over, shoes with stiletto heels, or a stiff petticoat. She would be distressed if she could not go to the coiffeur once a month for a perm, or a "swollen hair-do", as this style is picturesquely described by the Poles. She is passionately fond of nice things, she dreams about department stores like Harrods, she rates Marks and Spencer higher than Marx *tout court*. She is never tired of listening to stories about shopping in London. Paris is, for her, still the oracle of all fashion, but as the trend in modern fashion is sportive, she would not mind coming to London on a spending spree.

Miss Poland of the 'sixties dreams about a house of her own, or at least about a flat. She often rebels against living with parents. "What is worse, one has to stay with the Old Ones even after one is married." She recognizes that this arrangement is far from satisfactory. "That's how all married couples' quarrels start." But many young girls accept the fact that they have to live after marriage with their mothers and fathers, some would never think of "leaving their mothers alone." The Polish concept of family life is distinctly different from the English one.

Certainly she wants a car or scooter, and, for her, the triad of a "nice apartment, car and travelling" sums up her idea of the seventh heaven. With or without a career, she wants to marry and have children. "If you had to choose between car and children, which would you select?" "Of course, children. They last longer." Again, she wants to combine intellect with femininity. "Brains without charm and wit are horrid."

She wants an interesting career—to earn money and to be able to travel. Yes, travelling is the dream of all the Zosias, and Jasias and Kazias of Poland. "Oh, to go to the Riviera, or at least to Varna in Bulgaria!" Every Polish working-girl has a four week holiday, so there is time—but the money? "Well, you know, any trip abroad is so expensive. We working girls can't afford them. Only the old ones can travel."

Polish girls are intellectually alert. More girls than ever before are qualifying as doctors, and though the beginnings are atrociously difficult, for the Polish health service remains inadequate and sketchy, once you make the grade you can earn good money. In all travel agencies, in hotel management, in editorial offices, in publishing houses, in offices where foreign languages are useful or necessary, one meets girls bright and well-

dressed, avid to learn anything about the wide world, often married or engaged; they are practical—often much more than their male counterparts—and full of initiative

This zestful vitality is astonishing in a race so cruelly tormented by fate, Polish girls are true to the national tradition of "never despairing" They read widely, for books are still cheap, and have access to all the good literature of the world Never were so many titles translated into their language They find their papers dull, and vote for journals like *Piżyjaciółka* or *Przekrój*, where they can find articles on fashion An issue of *Vogue* or *Harper's* is the finest treat you can offer The Polish girl is still a great flirt and loves conversations on the knife-edge of riskiness She believes in intellectual friendship with men, despite many disappointments and despite the fact that "all men today want to go to bed" In such a predicament she is often driven to men of the older generation, there are many cases of young girls marrying men of well over fifty "They are the last romantics of our world" Divorces are frequent and comparatively easy; rushed marriages less frequent now than ten years ago Illegitimate children are treated more liberally than before, sexual freedom is accepted, the previous romantic bent of Polish girls has largely been obliterated, but unbridled sexual freedom is on the wane Stricter morals are now observed in homes where housing conditions are better, the standard of living higher "We know more about sex than our mothers did, and we know its limitations" The majority would like to combine professional work with home, marriage and children "We love children" Can a partnership in a career woman with the exigencies of a wife and mother be maintained? Polish girls strive after such a combination They often fail, but one finds unions and marriages of a very rare calibre, of intelligent, bright and very feminine girls who have succeeded in joining wit and brain with beauty and tenderness, and who are a guarantee that the Polish nation will not be deprived of this fine type Such women can stand comparison with the finest the West can produce under infinitely better conditions Sometimes they surpass the West pattern by their depth of feeling and by their moral stamina and seriousness of purpose

THE TWO BERLINS

PROFESSOR NORMAN BENTWICH

WHATEVER the German people undertake, they do it with thoroughness, *Grundlich*, as they say. The policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, that is, the Eastern or Russian Zone, since August, 1961, of sealing off the Eastern sector of Berlin from the three Western sectors, British, American and French, is carried out with a maximum of frightfulness and inhumanity. An ugly menacing wall of rough cement blocks, seven to thirteen feet high, has been built along the 26 miles of the border between the East and West sectors. There is a much longer fenced and armed border of 68 miles between Western Berlin and the territory of the Russian Zone. The Wall is crowned and flanked by a maze of barbed wire entanglements. Where a building is on the line, it has been evacuated and blocked up, even if it be a church, its roof is hideous with broken glass. Where the Wall adjoins an open space, tank traps and concrete poles swathed in barbed wire cut off approach from the No-Man's Land. Police and soldiers armed with tommy-guns keep up the patrol day and night; and at frequent points tanks are stationed. Almost every day somebody is shot dead in trying to break out of the prison.

No German resident in Western Berlin may cross to the Eastern city unless he has a special visa, which it is extremely hard to get, and no resident in Eastern Berlin can cross to Western without a special exit permit, which is equally hard to obtain. Till August, 1961, thousands of those living in Eastern Berlin had their employment or occupation in the other city. A decree of the municipal council brought that to a sudden end. Another decree prohibited school children, apprentices and students, who hitherto were at school, apprenticed, or attending University or technical and professional colleges in Western Berlin, from continuing their courses. Another tyrannical decree required persons resident in an area near the Wall to remove their homes because public security and order were endangered. Lest evil communications of capitalism should corrupt good Communist manners, Eastern citizens are prohibited from listening to the Western radio, or from watching a Western TV programme. It is a serious "anti-State" offence to invite friends to view such a programme, and Youth Groups are directed to destroy any aerial which is turned in the wrong direction.

For holders of foreign passports, and for residents of Western Germany, the conditions are less deterrent. They may cross the line at two checkpoints after scrutiny of their passports. Both points are in the Friedrich Strasse. One is for those who come by car or on foot, Charley Post, and is a regular control point set up on each side of the Wall. While you wait for the passport examination by a half-dozen officials, and the search in a Black Book in which your name may be included, you may read the propaganda literature which is liberally given away on both sides. On one side you read: "Berlin is not a front line city, but should become,

by Peace Treaty, free, neutral and demilitarised" On the other you read: "Berlin is the outpost of the Free World" Or you may study the rival placards about murder of those trying to escape, or of those trying to enter Having passed the Controls you must change some money, because there are two currencies, and declare any Western money or traveller's cheques Before August, 1961, Westerners going to East Berlin could exchange their marks at the rate of one to four Now the exchange is one to one, which is a deterrent on purchase On the other hand, you may buy anything in the stores, and get a meal at any restaurant in the Eastern city

The other check-point is for those coming by rail The overground city trains still run frequently from the West to the border station There you alight and wait in a long queue before you can proceed into the walled town Some tourists do not trouble to pass laboriously through the control Conveniently there is a raised platform at the Western end; and they mount that Pisgah, and look over the barred land A glimpse is compulsory for every American who comes to Berlin, and for many it is enough Most pathetic is the sight of a few old residents on either side who come to the barrier, and wait wistfully to wave to some member of their family on the other side They cannot speak, for no voice can carry over the Wall and the No-Man's Land

Many visitors drive through the Eastern town in a special authorised tourist bus, and gaze on the show-pieces of the Communist régime. They are the Karl Marx Allee, which was formerly Stalin Allee—before he was disgraced, the Alexander Platz, which once was the Gestapo headquarters, with its big State department store, sky-scrapers of modern flats built by the State, the Soviet War Monument in a park, and the Museum Island, where the old State Museum holds, among many treasures, the noble altar carried away from Pergamum There is in some ways remarkable likeness, and in other remarkable difference, between the two cities of Berlin and the two cities of Jerusalem In both, rigid barriers of Iron Curtain, miles of barbed wire, and tank traps cut off the cities from each other; in both, there is utter breakdown of human communication except for foreigners But while in Berlin the barriers separate two sections of the same people, families are cruelly divided, and there is desperate desire by thousands to escape, as from a prison, in Jerusalem the barriers cut off intercourse between two nations, Jews and Arabs, who have in large measure a different way of life, the segregation affects only small groups, and the bulk of the population have adjusted themselves to the division

The harsh division of Berlin and the sudden break of all contact with the population in the Eastern sector would be harder for the Western Berliners, whose freedom of movement with Western Germany was already restricted by the need of passing through a narrow road or air corridor, were it not for the fact that the area of Western Berlin is incredibly great It embraces, besides the built-up area of the suburbs, the rural areas of Spandau with its fortress prison, in which Hess lingers, and Gatow, with its British airfield, and a large region of wood and lake with many beautiful pleasure spots Altogether it covers 480 square kilometres, and its area is greater than that of eleven big cities together, some German, some foreign

The eleven are Cologne, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf and Munich, Bordeaux, Marseilles and Strasbourg; Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Southampton. There is, so to say, room for manoeuvre and free air to breathe. The area of East Berlin is not much less, but the air is less free. The population of Western Berlin is two and a quarter million, of East Berlin not much more than half that. It was the steady exodus, particularly of professional men and women and technicians, from the Eastern to the Western city which led to the crisis last year and the establishment of the rigid and heavily guarded frontier. In the month before the Wall was built, it tended to be a flood. In July over thirty thousand fled to the West by way of Freedom Gate. In August the numbers rose steadily to nearly two thousand a day.

Another sad factor of the Apartheid is the raucous and evergrowing blast of propaganda. The amount of literature distributed free over the rival systems is terrifying. Charge and counter-charge of militarism and espionage are multiplied. Truth and humanity are the helpless victims, and a humane voice can hardly be heard in the din. The failure of the religious bodies to influence the political leaders is a grim comment on our time.

Western Berlin is, on the surface, staggeringly prosperous. Huge office buildings and residential blocks spring up all around the Kurfurstendamm, and in the outer suburbs, a finely engineered Autobahn or ring road has been constructed from the northern outskirts to the centre, and puts to shame the North Circular or South Circular road in London. The Hansa Quarter, near the former Tiergarten, has been erected according to the designs of world-famous architects, of many countries, on one of the vast waste areas of rubble, and is a handsome example of recovery from war destruction. Two new Universities, the Free in the American sector, and the Charlottenburg Technical University, formerly a technical college, in the British, are ever expanding. Western and Eastern Berlin equally have resumed their place in the musical and theatrical world. The Grand Opera House is in the Russian sector, in the Unter Den Linden, one of the few fully restored buildings in that street of former splendour. But West Berlin has now a large, if less splendid, Opera House, and till this year had Carl Ebert of Glyndebourne fame as its Director. In East Berlin life is harder and grimmer. You are reminded all the time, by slogans in the street, of the struggle for peace, "Socialism makes the German Democratic Republic safe for Peace." But "the wicked militarists of the West are threatening destruction." How long will this unnatural division and excommunication last, there is no saying. The hope is that man can be perverse most of the time, but not all the time.

"THE YEAR BOOK OF WORLD AFFAIRS, 1962"

G P. GOOCH

EDITED by Professor George Keeton and Georg Schwarzenberger, *The Year Book of World Affairs, 1962*,* maintains the high standard set by previous volumes. The twelve contributions on current problems by specialists from various countries are of the highest value, and in every case the reader feels he is in good hands. The second and smaller portion of the book consists of a very full bibliography of recent publications, many being briefly reviewed. They are classified under eight headings—economic, institutional, legal, philosophical, psychological, sociological, strategic and geographical, contemporary literature. The Editors are to be warmly congratulated on the latest addition to a series which is literally indispensable to the serious student of world affairs.

The monographs deal with the nuclear deterrent, the British Commonwealth, the United States intervention in South America, France under General de Gaulle, South Tyrol, Syria, the rôle of Islam in Pakistan and Malaya, East Africa, the trends in world trade, the effect of State trading on International Law, trade relations between East and West Germany. The final item is a study of the nuclear weapon and the problems it presents for international law, written in French by Professor M. Radojkovic of the University of Belgrade.

Sir Dermot Boyle, Marshal of the Royal Air Force, leads off with a strong plea for our retention both of the nuclear deterrent and conventional weapons. We must be able to rely on ourselves, he declares, for we know little of Russian intentions and we cannot be certain how long the United States will hold its shield over Western Europe.

Professor M. J. Bonn expresses, in his essay "The Commonwealth: Parting of the Continents?", his conviction that the disappearance or even the weakening of the British Commonwealth would be a tragedy.

D. A. Graber, writing on "United States Intervention in Latin America", recalls that the Monroe doctrine envisaged only material intervention from the outside world. Today there is a new and more penetrating challenge in the shape of Communist propaganda and infiltration, illustrated by the emergence of the Castro régime in Cuba, no more than ninety miles from the US mainland. The Cuban problem presented an awkward dilemma to President Kennedy. He could hardly be expected to play the part of a mere spectator while Communism was being firmly planted, almost within sight, but, on the other hand, any forceful pressure on Castro would inevitably drive him into the ever closer embrace of Moscow.

Mrs. Dorothy Pickles, an expert on French politics, analyses the situation prevailing since the return of de Gaulle to power in 1958. The régime, she declares, is generally unpopular with the parties from Left to Right, but the hostility of the Chamber is not widely shared by the mass of the French people, most of whom devote far more attention to their personal and local interests than to the battles on the parliamentary

* Stevens £3 3s

arena. Of course, the General, who has never been a party man, looks with something like contempt on the strife of the parties, and is strongly attracted to the American system in which the President possesses enormous, though constitutionally limited, powers. The General has his own views on France's external as well as internal problems. He resents any suggestion of American dictation, has no affection for UNO, and desires France to be in sole control of her defence and foreign relations. The more he stresses his unique position as the ruler of France the more certain it is that he will name no successor.

Dr J. Frankel's study of the highly controversial problem of South Tyrol is on the whole encouraging. That the 250,000 German-speaking Austrians would prefer to return to Austria is obvious, but there is happily a great difference between the bullying practised by Mussolini and the relatively mild régime of post-Fascist Italy.

Professor R. G. Neumann of the University of California discusses President Nasser's relations with the Arab world. His greatest blunder was the formation of a close alliance with Syria; its forcible dissolution was the greatest blow to his pride. But he has shown that he can learn from his mistakes, and the Syrian episode may perhaps convince him that the intimate co-operation of Arab states is a much wiser policy than unification. His position in Egypt is so strong, his relations with Eastern and Western blocs so comparatively friendly, and Communism in Egypt so weak that he will probably have plenty of time to work out more or less satisfactory relations with all the Arab States. He knows perfectly well that in no case must he be responsible for shedding Arab blood. The essay by E. I. J. Rosenthal on "The Rôle of Islam in the Modern National State" is concerned with the religious problems of Pakistan and Malaya. The ever-increasing contact between European and Asian influences has led in most cases to a blending of beliefs. Even when the Moslem is most fully acquainted with western ideas, he usually retains a good deal of his ancestral faith. The intellectuals who are acquainted with western ideas are, of course, only a small minority, but they seem destined to play a part of increasing importance in raising both the intellectual and material standards of their countrymen. The article closes on a note of interrogation. The general level of subsistence is so low that Communist propaganda may have considerable success unless the standard of life is raised soon.

The essay entitled "Changing Trends in World Trade", by Susan Strange, of University College, London, stresses the diminishing demand for raw materials and the increasing need for industrial development, which alone can be expected to raise the standard of life.

In "East African Emergent" Alison Smith provides a careful analysis of the problems presented by the differences not merely of race but of social development in a vast area. Economic problems are as formidable as political, and it will take time to provide a Civil Service capable of running a huge new machine.

"The Impact of State Trading on Classical International Law", by Professor I. Seidl-Hohenveldern, of the University of the Saarland, con-

trasts the principles of free economy and State control, the latter of which is inevitably increased by the dictatorships which have sprung up in recent years

"The Legal Nature of the Trade Agreements" between West and East Germany, by G. Joetze, is one of the most illuminating articles in this instructive volume. The trade agreement of 1951, modified in 1959, establishes closer relations than the West usually realises. No customs are levied at the frontiers. These commercial relations, however, have so far brought no nearer even the *de facto* recognition of the East German State, and the relationship between the two parts of a divided nation remains unique.

The *Year Book* closes with Reports on World Affairs, which fill over a hundred pages. Hundreds of new publications are listed and some of them briefly reviewed under the titles:

Economic Aspects, by G. V. Doxey,
Institutional Aspects, by Hilde Jacoby and Others,
Legal Aspects, by G. S. and Others,
Philosophical Aspects, by Suse Schwarzenberger;
Psychological Aspects, by Cecily de Monchaux,
Sociological Aspects, by J. Frankel and Others;
Strategic and Geographical Aspects, by Hedley Bull,
Contemporary Literature, by T. J. B. Spencer

JANE PICTON HOLIDAY IN MOROCCO—*Concluded from Page 202*

The ruined stables had accommodation for hundreds of horses, and the great granaries, built over deep inexhaustible wells, held food for his army. His thousands of slaves burrowed out vaulted underground prisons, so cold and damp that I cannot think many survived their sentence, and he dreamt of building a wall between Meknes and Marrakesh, about two hundred miles.

We felt we had seen part of the old Morocco and the new by the time we had to leave, and we were even becoming a little attuned to the Moroccan approach to life which so baffled us at first. To judge from the number and variety of foreign newspapers and magazines, as well as from our conversations, the Morocco of today is an outward looking country, and one thing which we came to realise in full was the great and friendly interest its people have in the activities of our country and their real affection for our Queen.

TOBAGO PORTRAIT—

THE CORAL COAST

LESLIE REID

THE coral coast of Tobago is the leeward, the sheltered, the Caribbean as opposed to the surf-pounded Atlantic coast. There is a marked contrast between the two, but the fact that it is only the Caribbean which is coral-girded is not at first obvious, or at any rate becomes so only to those who know what signs to look for. The visitor is almost certain to hear about the Buccoo Reef even before he arrives, but it is the way of coral reefs to remain submerged, or at the most awash. What he is likely to see therefore is little more than a line of breakers a mile or so out to sea, which might well be caused by a rocky barrier devoid of coral. In fact it is the outer margin of the reef. There are other signs, chief among them colour. The sand of the beach, almost wholly a coral sand, glaring beneath the sun, stretches seawards with a highly characteristic milkiness, not of opacity but of colour, when seen from the shore. The blue of offshore waters is a milky blue, a pale turquoise, about as much green as blue, but again a milky green, the two merging in tints like those of fine porcelain.

The strand-line too has its individuality, proclaiming this to be a coral coast, for it is made up partly of shells, but more of coral fragments, off-white, faintly grey, pale rose-coloured. When the tide, especially a spring tide, has ebbed to its limit yet another sign appears, for then the higher parts of the reef are exposed in long, ochre-coloured shoals. They might it is true be sandbars so far as their appearance from the beach is concerned, but wade out to them, which is easy enough, and it then becomes clear that they are indeed ridges of coral detritus heaped up by the waves. Long lines of pelicans perch there, roughly equidistant like rows of stakes, while other parts are spread with snow-white coverings which flicker and heave, wholly composed as they are of gulls and terns. A few are usually on the wing, and from time to time they dive with a tiny spurt of spray.

This is the low-lying end of the island, but is far from being the only part where coral flourishes. From here as far as Charlotteville, which is close to the other extremity, this leeward coast is indented with a succession of secluded bays, notably Man-of-War Bay, the finest of them all. Their encircling arms are lofty, steep, rugged, plunging precipitously into deep water, and in each one at a distance of a few feet beneath the surface luxuriant coral-gardens thrive.

Recognition of the nature of a coast such as this is no more than the beginning, the necessary prelude to an exploration on terms as intimate as can be achieved. The degree of intimacy, the wonderful richness of this experience, can be conveyed by a parallel. Imagine a bird-watcher who in some Utopia of his dreams, finds that he can hover immediately above a wood, and that thus hovering sees almost within reach of his arm a wealth of bird life both in numbers and variety far exceeding any he has known before. Imagine further that these birds, instead of shooting far beyond the range of his vision with a flash of wings and a glint of colour, feed and go about their business quite unconcernedly, gliding hither and thither just as though he were not there. It is in some such enviable situation as this that the explorer of a coral reef delightedly finds himself as he hovers over his "wood" of knobbed, branching, plate-like, dome-like "trees", adapting his movements to the serene tempo of life in this denser medium.

Masked, snorkeled, he quickly learns the simple technique of swimming the slowest of breast-strokes, face just below the surface, frequently floating motionless, always careful to avoid any sudden movement. Obeying these rules, even the tiro cannot fail to see fishes of every conceivable colour, ranging from fingerlings of an

inch or less up to comparative giants measurable in feet. Some are solitary, others cruise about in half-dozens and dozens, others again in schools countable in fifties and hundreds. Almost always they swim unhurriedly, insinuating themselves into nooks and crannies, wavering this way and that between plates and bosses of coral, nibbling at encrusting growths. Almost everywhere there is peace and mutual tolerance, each species in its own niche in the scheme of things. Whenever a flick of movement occurs it seems to be caused by the more aggressive territory owners chasing away intruders, hardly ever by predators chasing and devouring prey.

Identification is difficult and almost always tentative, but it is safe to say that wrasse or parrot-fish are outstanding, some glowingly deep blue or deep green, others pale green, jade-green or pale blue, all of stocky build, all with beak-like mouths and a pouting, disdainful expression. There may well be one that is vividly blue-green with red fins, another whose colour-scheme deepens almost to black dorsally, its flanks enriched with a chain-mail design in red and gold. This wrasse has a habit of turning over on its side when feeding. Another distinguishable group is that of the angel-fish, smaller, laterally flattened, with dorsal and tail fins drawn out into finely tapering pennons which ripple with a majestic solemnity as they swim. There is the black angel with gold-rimmed scales, and the queen angel, cobalt blue with fins and tail of gold.

Invariably alone swims *Chaetodon* or four-eye, so called because in addition to the true eyes obliterated by a black stripe, it has false eyes in the form of black spots near the base of the tail. It is said that this fish has a way of swimming in a leisurely fashion backwards and in this way reinforcing the illusion produced by the false eyes. When threatened it darts swiftly forwards into cover. This highly interesting habit appears to be well authenticated, but I have to confess with regret that the few four-eyes I watched swam in the normal fashion.

Perhaps the strangest, as well as the most luridly decorated of all the reef fishes is *Ballistes vetula*, one of the trigger-fishes. Its shape in the first place is extremely odd, very nearly a square or a diamond. The eyes are set absurdly high and nearly half way along the body, a device to be explained according to some by the necessity to protect them from the flailing claws of the crabs that are their staple food. The general colour is green and the wide space between the pouting mouth and the eye is scored with vivid blue stripes bent half way along at a right angle. The name trigger-fish derives from a spine at the fore-end of the dorsal fin. When the fish is alarmed the spine is at once erected and can be locked in that position. A smaller spine behind the big one unlocks it, is in fact a trigger which if pushed down causes the larger spine to fall.

Not to be omitted are the squirrel-fish, red with big brown eyes. Invariably they lurk in solitude, deep in some cranny of the coral. In contrast are the yellow-tailed snappers, seen in shoals of twenty to thirty, sand-coloured except for their pale gold tails. They move slowly, keeping close contact. Of all the reef-fishes these seem to be the only ones whose colour-scheme matches their background, and they are past-masters of the art, appearing to melt within it. For strangeness it would be hard to beat the trunk-fishes, lumpy and angular, encased in bony, box-like armour. One of them, the so-called cow-fish, has minute horns above the eyes. All trunk-fishes are sluggish bottom-feeders. Finally you may see an immense shoal, measurable in cubic yards, made up of tiny fish little more than half an inch long and almost entirely transparent, packed together in a cloud of silvery translucence, more like some condensation of animated dewdrops than a company of living creatures.

Apart from this gloriously appavelled company there is the setting, the background, which it would be a capital error to think of as that and nothing more. It has a subdued beauty of its own, is at once a refuge and, more important, a pasture over which these creatures graze. Together with the water itself it provides the conditions without which they would perish. But it is also in itself a living

thing, or rather a complex assemblage of living things, not plants as on land but sedentary animals of many kinds.

On the Buccoo Reef the coral growth is disposed in shallow basins and winding channels, where when the tide ebbs, the fishes are for the time being in a manner trapped. But in the bays along the rest of this coast the arrangement is different and in one way more impressive. Here deep below the rocky bulwarks coralline chasms plunge to depths of fifteen or twenty feet, dim, mysterious, even a little awe-inspiring. To follow their windings, swimming slowly at the surface, peering into those shrouded depths, where brain-corals dome themselves, sometimes brilliantly green with symbiotic algae, to examine in detail the flanks of those precipices where corals make an infinity of indentations, where long-spined purple sea-urchins lurk in hollows of their own drilling, and the coloured fishes pursue their devious ways, all this is an experience never to be forgotten.

There are many different kinds of coral: knobbed growths of bush and spiked growths of ivory coral, skulls of brain-coral scored with ridged convolutions, crowded bosses of starlet coral. Commoner perhaps than any are the plate corals, projecting brown discs not unlike those bracket fungi that project from the bark of ancient trees. They, together with the brain corals, are the principal builders of reefs, and it is the crannies between the plates that serve as lurking-places, whether from choice or as refuges from more aggressive fellows it is not easy to say. The impression is that these myriad interstices serve a purpose not always practical, providing endless opportunities for complex evolutions, twistings and turnings, entrances and exits. Like most of the corals they also provide food, are grazed upon, nibbled at, even crunched between the horny mandibles of the parrot-fish.

In a class distinct from the hard stony corals, and so different in appearance that the two might be forgiven for supposing that they are organisms of a wholly separate kind, are the gorgonian or horny corals. Their tissues are softer but are built up nevertheless of lime, and their habit of growth more closely resembles that of plants, fronded and fern-like in the sea-fans which gently sway under urge of these under-water currents whose sole indication they are. The so-called sea-whips on the other hand take the form of clustered filaments, two to three feet in height. They too sway like grasses in a breeze and even more gracefully, since each filament moves independently. One of these, the most beautiful of all, is pale mauve in colour, the several shoots intricately branched, feather-like, plumose, the entire growth resembling an immense spray of ostrich-plumes, whose gentle billowing is the very poetry of slow motion.

The sensitive student of the natural world cannot fail to be impressed by the serene detachment shown by those animal communities in which he delights. That is an inalienable characteristic of all of them everywhere, whether on land or in the sea, no more so here than elsewhere. All the same most of us would be inclined to give precedence in this respect to these coral-gardens. In them there seems to prevail a self-sufficient aloofness more pronounced and more beguiling than in any other community of living things. What we see here, to use a trite phrase which acquires a newly-minted meaning, is a little world on its own.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THE LIBERAL ANSWER

In Defence of Liberalism K M Panikkar Asia Publishing House, London 16s

I was staying over-night at the British Embassy at Rangoon in 1949 when the British Ambassador said to me, "The Indian Ambassador is bringing Dr Panikkar, the Indian Ambassador to China, to see us to-morrow morning. You should find him interesting." I did. Dr Panikkar gave in precise and lucid terms a survey of the Chinese situation and the new Communist Government, stroking the while a neat, brown beard.

This book, *In Defence of Liberalism*, is equally interesting. It is based on a lecture series delivered by the author at New Delhi. It should be on every Liberal bookstall and have a wide readership especially among those new to the philosophy of liberalism or insufficiently aware of its international aspect. Indeed I go further: if Mr. Harold Macmillan, Mr. Iain Macleod, Mr. George Brown, political commentators for daily and weekly papers and those others who are puzzled by and uncertain of the reasons for the Liberal renaissance in this country will only read this book, they will have their uncertainty unintentionally removed by Dr. Panikkar.

Dr Panikkar's thesis is Liberalism, its doctrines, its transformation of Society, its heyday, its decline from 1914 onwards until recently, and its future, "New Horizons."

Dr Panikkar makes clear that Liberalism in the past two hundred years has reached far beyond British shores. Like Communism and Socialism it is world-wide. The author's thesis is that the Liberal doctrines of individual freedom liberated the individual through legislative and State action from the limitations that the rights of classes and groups had established over the masses. To-day, he says, the challenge to Liberalism is that it should provide the theory for a new integration of the individual with society and with the intermediary groups, such as the trade unions, which have become part of society. In other words, Liberalism must deal with the problems of the Welfare State and of Organised Labour. Liberalism, he contends, must strive for equality by conscious use of State power through planning and for a classless society brought about by the control of the economic forces of the State.

Dr Panikkar makes the point that Liberalism, not traditional Capitalism, is the real opponent of Communism and that, where Liberal ideas have been ingrained, Communism has made no headway. He also pays tribute to the impact of Liberal ideas in India and shows that these are embodied in the Indian Constitution, where it makes provision for social justice, maintenance of social freedoms, a planned economy to eliminate economic inequalities, and a welfare state.

Dr Panikkar believes that a conscious effort is needed to ensure that Liberal values survive. He looks for this effort through the promotion of a class devoted to the cultivation of human values primarily through university education. No doubt, in India, there is some practical force in this suggestion for in the sub-continent there is as yet only a small, educated, middle class and a vast, illiterate

peasantry, usually in the clutches of the village moneylender. In Britain we can offer another, surer, Liberal way. The British Liberal Party, partly empirically, has been working towards many of the ideals of the "New Horizons" by policies not based on a small, cultivated class but on the people as a whole to whom, in electoral terms, Liberal policies are making an ever increasing appeal. In the second edition of his illuminating book, Dr Panikkar should have a chapter on the new Liberalism in action, namely a study of the progress of the British Liberal Party since 1959.

There is one important facet of Dr Panikkar's thesis on which I differ from him seriously, and that is in his reference to religion. So far as I can see, he gives no real place to religious faith in the development of man in Society, although since this is the one aspect of the book which is not clear I may be doing Dr Panikkar an injustice and if so I apologise.

In my view there can be no real personal or communal development and no true happiness unless there is communion with God. OGMORE

HOW TO STUDY HISTORY

Meaning in History W. Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society Edited and introduced by H. P. Rickman. Allen & Unwin. 20s.

In the closing decade of the nineteenth century Germany could boast of three thinkers with exceptional original minds. Dilthey was a philosopher, Max Weber a sociologist and Troeltsch a theologian. Though none of them was classified as a historian, they all meditated deeply about the meaning and methods of history, and they deserve the intensive study of historical students. Of the three Dilthey is the least known in England, but his prestige in his own country has been illustrated by the publication in 12 volumes of his writings, lectures and manuscript. They are stiff reading, for his style is obscure. Dr Rickman of Hull University, has done his best as a translator, in the volume entitled *Meaning in History*. The volume consists of a massive introduction by Dr Rickman explaining Dilthey's attitude to some of the main problems, but that is by no means the whole of his contribution. He has selected enough material from the seventh volume of the collected works to fill a hundred pages.

How much, asks Dilthey, can we understand about history as a whole? That is the first question every serious student asks himself when he is mature enough to envisage the story as a whole and begins to wonder what it all seems to mean. Can he say with "Pope a mighty maze but not without a plan?" If so, what is the plan? Different and equally confident answers have been given throughout the ages by men so different as Bossuet and Hegel, Comte and Marx. Which key in Dilthey's opinion opens the door? None of them, he replies. Dr Rickman classifies him as a sturdy empiricist. All he can find in the historical process as it is now known to us in all its length and breadth is "the continuity of creative forces", which he describes as the central historical fact. He is particularly critical of Hegel who taught that the key was to be sought and found in the gradual evolution and ultimate triumph of what he called Absolute Spirit. As a liberal individualist Dilthey is as interested in the part as in the whole.

If, as he believes, ultimate questions such as the meaning and purpose of the vast drama—if there are any—are beyond us, we can go some way towards understanding its successive phases if we use the right methods. The first task is to climb the outlook tower and sweep the horizon. Specialisation is essential as the foundation of our knowledge, but the specialist sometimes fails to see the wood for the trees. It is not enough to learn what men have done and said, we must

try to get behind the façade of events and strive to reconstruct the external and internal factors which, consciously or unconsciously shaped thought and action.

Autobiographies are of great value, but they rarely give us all we need, for few human beings know themselves in their innermost beings or tell all that they could. Biographies usually carry us further, for they supply more of the background and are better able to estimate the influence of the deceased. In the case of a maker of history, and still more in dealing with a colossal movement such as the Reformation and the French Revolution, the results continue to manifest themselves as the centuries move on. The best hope of penetrating to the heart of earth-shaking events is to get far away from them. In dealing with recent or contemporary times we must realise how much we cannot know or understand because we are too near. This, needless to say, is particularly true in regard to international relations where the *arcana imperii* are often kept secret for decades or generations.

We should not allow ourselves to be depressed by our limited knowledge or short perspectives, for we can reap a rich harvest with the aid of the sociologist, the psychologist and the economist. The sceptic who pretends to believe that we can scarcely be certain of anything owing to the fallibility of human testimony is dismissed by the author with scorn. Happily disinterested love of truth is far more widespread in the twentieth century than in the nineteenth, for every historian who has not mistaken his vocation bears in mind Ranke's noble utterance that "the writing of history is a matter of conscience" G. P. GOOCH

A FRENCH NOVELIST

Roger Martin du Garde. Robert Gibson. Bowes and Bowes. 10s. 6d.

The latest addition to the series of little books entitled *Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought* is one of the best. Martin du Garde deserves to be better known to English readers, and here is our opportunity. Mr. Gibson is to be congratulated on his penetrating analysis of the writings and complex personality of a man who dedicated himself to literature in early life, was his own most severe critic, scrapped two early novels as unworthy of publication, won the Nobel Prize by his first large-scale work, and then proceeded to write the eight volume novel *Les Thibault* which won him recognition among the leading novelists of the twentieth century.

His writings never became so popular as those of Proust or Galsworthy, but he ranks with them as a master of the art of holding up a mirror to the social and intellectual life of his time through the medium of a family chronicle.

Martin du Garde was a scholar and thinker as well as a novelist and dramatist. He learned the trade of a historian in the *Ecole des Chartres* and read omnivorously till the end of his days. The decision to devote himself to creative literature was largely due to Tolstoi, whose novels impressed him by their profound insight into human nature. He was also an admirer of George Eliot. He set himself the highest standards. When his friend, Andre Gide, was dissatisfied with an early novel submitted for his judgment it was at once suppressed.

Martin du Garde's conception of a novelist was explained in the address delivered on receiving the Nobel Prize and in his *Souvenirs Littéraires*. It was to record and analyse the struggle of the individual for self-realisation amid the obstacles, external and internal, which usually prevent full satisfaction. He was no less interested in the clash of ideologies than in the development of character. The main themes of his first great novel, *Jean Barne*, are the Dreyfus case and the rabid anti-clericalism of his countrymen at the turn of the century. He had lost his faith in early life, and

the vacuum was never filled. Pessimism, he declared, was unavoidable, and only religious faith could suggest optimism. The picture of the French bourgeoisie in *Les Thibault*, the product of twenty years of concentrated study, is profoundly depressing. In *The Chronicle of Two Families and Their Friends* there is scarcely a patch of blue sky and not a single happy marriage. Love appears as a temptation, a tyrant, a torment, not as the highest fulfilment of our first ideals. The reader finds himself in a dark world of loveless homes, sensualism, incest and suicide. A whole volume is devoted to the impact of the war of 1914, and some of the principal actors appear on the author's stage, but the impression of the whole work is that man, not circumstances or events, is his own worst enemy.

In his closing chapter the author summarises the character of significance of Martin du Gard. He was a keen observer of human nature taking elaborate notes of what struck him in the intercourse of daily life. Many of his characters are alive, and he could arrange a mass of detail to form a coherent and convincing picture. His limitations, however, seem to the author as conspicuous as his achievements. "There is no poetry, no gusto, and scarcely any humour in his major works." "His all-corrosive pessimism . . . deprived" him of the joy which usually accompanies creative work, and he can hardly be described as a happy man. His later years were dedicated to planning a third large-scale novel which never took shape. Despite all the dark shadows in the picture of this exceptionally complex personality, Mr Gibson expects a much wider posthumous fame when his correspondence is published in which he let himself go more than in his novels.

G. P. GOOCH

DEBUSSY CENTENNIAL

Debussy His Life and Mind Edward Lockspeiser, Vol 1. Cassell. 42s

How should we measure the contribution which an artist makes to his art, to his contemporaries, to posterity? In music, those who compose great works, which live and continue to inspire mankind, make one contribution, those who strike out and explore undiscovered territories make another. Schubert is valued and will continue to be valued for the sheer beauty and passion of his compositions, though he made little advance to new forms. Liszt, on the other hand, whose pleasant works cannot be reckoned as great compositions, introduced an element into musical composition, which his great successors used to the enrichment of contemporary music. There are, however, a few select great ones who combined both functions. Beethoven was one, Wagner another. It is possible that Debussy will one day be added to this glorious, but select company. We are too near to his time to judge with confidence. We, or rather coming generations, can be helped to a decision by learned works on the man and his life, such as the volume under review.

This is a studious essay, with a mass of detail and a parade of illustrious and other names in music, the graphic arts and literature, which may perplex or overwhelm the mind of the ordinary reader, but will be of significance and inspiration to those who enjoy a wide knowledge of the arts during the last hundred years. It is a text-book and a treasury of facts rather than a biography or even an estimate of Debussy's value as a composer. The amount of research, combined with the erudition and diligence of the author, will stagger the uninitiated. Eight appendices, together with a chronology, a bibliography, and an index will supply students and musicologists with a wealth of material, which otherwise it would be laborious for them to come by.

Debussy, it appears, like so many creative artists, was a rebel, unwilling to

work to order and readily dissatisfied with his own work. Much of his work he destroyed, more he left unfinished. At the same time he never scorned the great works of the past and felt love and respect for his musical inheritance. The present reviewer was happy to hear from one of our most forward-looking British composers that his ideal was Schubert. Such an attitude is re-assuring and seems to signify that the new developments are not rebellions, but rather explorations and works of pioneering.

Much has been written about nationalist tendencies in music. There are and must be tendencies which vary according to the traditions and habits of the composer's community, it is not always easy for a musician, composer or performer, to feel sympathy with idioms which are strange to him. But this lack of sympathy should not develop, as it sometimes develops, into hostility. It is comforting to read of the enthusiasm in France for Wagner, a "German" composer, if ever there was one. The enthusiasm for him in Paris was so great that he was in danger of suffering more from his admirers than from his opponents (and many of these were German). Debussy was swept into the company of the supporters and learnt much from his support. But it would need a very accomplished and discerning ear to discover in Debussy's works traces of Wagnerian influence.

Creative artists are channels through which inspiration flows and takes shape during its passage through the channel. The mysterious nature of that channel depends much on surroundings and conditions. Debussy acknowledged that he owed much to the poverty of his life, and indeed he suffered much not only from poverty but perhaps even more from the conditions of his early upbringing; a ne'er-do-weel father, an apathetic mother, parents who became later more interested in his success than in his happiness. If these contributed to his genius, we can be grateful, but there were other and more favourable circumstances, his visits to Russia and to Italy (he was bored by Rome!), his contacts with the great ones of his day. Whether these aided or retarded his development, one gets the impression that in any circumstances the creative power in Debussy would have triumphed over all and that he will live not only as the innovator and prospector, but even more as the creator of beauty.

LEONARD F. BEHRENS

A DEFENCE OF CHAMBERLAIN

Chamberlain and His Critics C. B. Pyper L. Bishop 21s

The techniques of current propaganda have produced many modern myths which are dangerously close to passing into the history of the world. This brilliant little book may cause few ripples in the pool of contemporary comment, but the conscientious historian will fly to it to put into proper perspective the part played by Neville Chamberlain in shaping the destiny, not merely of Britain, but of the free world.

The author, a Canadian journalist of international reputation, has with shattering success justified Chamberlain and his policy out of the mouths of his most persistent critics. The sayings and the writings of Churchill, Eden, Duff-Cooper, Attlee are all used with devastating force to fashion the stature of Chamberlain as an apostle of peace who was also a man of war. The ludicrous picture of the guilty appeaser is completely destroyed, and in its place is left the image of an honest man whose shining integrity and utter selflessness have seldom, if ever, been equalled by any other British Prime Minister.

•• Chamberlain inherited three dictators and a Britain unprepared for war. The skill with which he handled Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin is clearly set out in Mr. Pyper's little book, as also his dogged perseverance in building up the defences of his country in the teeth of combined Labour and Liberal opposition reinforced by

continuous sniping from the right. These preparations might well have brought the title, architect of victory, to a more ambitious man.

It is true that he overestimated the strength of France, and was caught unaware by her fall, but he erred here in good company, as Churchill, too, looked to France in 1940 to hold the Maginot Line. If France had not fallen, Chamberlain would have needed no vindication, and the nation would have been spared the contemptible spectacle of the words of the only English dictator being quoted to end the valiant personal struggle of an English democrat against a German tyranny. Chamberlain's treatment of Hitler is shown to be much firmer than the treatment of Stalin by Churchill and Attlee, no one has dubbed either of our two living former Prime Ministers appeaser.

Neville Chamberlain was a victim of circumstances which no man could have mastered. That he succeeded so well in controlling them for the benefit of humanity is the measure of his greatness. Mr Pyper's work may yet scotch the myth built up by his critics, and replace it by the truth.

HUGO O'HEAR

THE ANGLO-JEWISH STORY

Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History Edited by V. D. Lipman. Published for the Jewish Historical Society of England by W. Heffer. 25s

This series of lectures commemorates the tercentenary of the re-admission of the Jews to England by Cromwell in 1656, nearly four hundred years after their expulsion in 1290. It is the history of the Jews in England from that date to the present day, their gradual progress to complete emancipation, their relations with their Christian (or non-Jewish) fellow-citizens, their great increase in numbers, chiefly by immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their various divisions among themselves.

Jewry is both a religion and a race—mainly but not entirely homogeneous and co-terminous. Dr Cecil Roth describes the re-settlement itself, and is able to contribute a remarkable new discovery, to which his attention was called by Miss Gifford of the Record Office, that the records of June 25, 1656 have been torn out of the book, and that the Petition of the Jews, headed by the Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam, must have been considered and granted by the Council of State on that day. It is also made clear that, as advised by the judges, the previous expulsion and execution had never been a matter of law, but only of Royal Prerogative.

The first Jewish settlers, including a few who had maintained a surreptitious existence for a long period, were refugees from the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition arriving mostly via Amsterdam, and these families became in course of time the back-bone and in a sense the aristocracy of British Jewry, centred almost entirely in London.

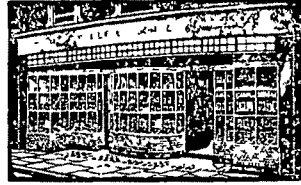
The history of the next fifty years is carried on by Edgar R. Samuel, and of the eighteenth century by R. D. Barnett. The latter writes interestingly on various legal problems which troubled the Jewish community during that period, particularly with regard to marriage and the holding of land. He also describes the sharp divisions which arose between the Sephardim (who were mainly the original settlers of Portuguese origin) and the Ashkenazim, the more recent immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe who were mostly poor and uneducated.

When we come to the chapter by Dr Lipman called "The Age of Emancipation—1815—1880" we enter a period in which the struggle of non-Jewish Liberals to remove the shackles which kept Jews, and countless other people who would not take the Anglican oath, out of the Universities and Parliament. It was at the end of this era that the great wave of Jewish immigration from Central and Eastern

NOTICE

AUSTRALIA IN THE ANTARCTIC (Cambridge University Press, agents for the Melbourne University Press 57s 6d) This is an important work by Mr R. A. Swan who outlines the growth of Australian interest and activities in the Antarctic since the earliest days Professor Griffith Taylor in his Foreword describes the book as "the best guide available" to readers who want an overall picture of Australia's remarkable achievement. It is well written with plenty of illustrations and based upon a great deal of painstaking research. Apart from the historical survey, the book has a valuable contribution upon the international character of Antarctica, and the co-operation among all nations concerned in the region, both during the International Geophysical Year and in the Washington Antarctic Treaty of 1959. It is indeed a remarkably encouraging sign of what can be done in international relations where goodwill prevails.

HEFFER'S



**A CAMBRIDGE
BOOKSHOP
THAT IS A
MARKET-PLACE
OF THE
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Europe followed new outbreaks of persecution. He deals with it primarily from an internal Jewish stand-point. It is in the essay by James Parkes entitled "Jewish-Christian Relations in England" that one finds this struggle described in relation to the non-Jewish statesmen and ecclesiastics who were alone in a position to take an active part in it. Of course Lord Macaulay is the major protagonist. The story is brought up to 1918 in the chapter by Israel Feinstein, "The New Community," again from a mainly internal point of view. On the paper by Ralph Loewe—"Jewish Scholarship in England"—I am quite unqualified to comment.

The last chapter on "The Structure of Anglo-Jewry to-day," by the late Dr A. Cohen reveals, like some of the others, a surprising degree of disunion and internal controversy in what I had always regarded as an amazingly cohesive community. He hoped for and foresaw a diminution or cessation of these controversies, I cannot help feeling that the faithful recording of these matters creates a rather excessive impression of their relative importance. In the highly significant sphere of Jewish charities he records the co-ordinating movement which led to the formation of the Jewish Board of Guardians, which has done so much for the successive waves of refugees from oppression in so many lands.

If I have a criticism of this illuminating volume as a whole, it is the absence of a chapter specifically devoted to the remarkable contribution which the Jews in England have made to the life of the British community as an entity in so many spheres, not only financial and industrial, but artistic as well. In various periods of my life I have had occasion to study these several contributions. For them I should like to record my admiration.

A. S. COMYNS CARR

SHORTER REVIEW AND NOTICES

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND BRITISH POLITICS (Allen and Unwin.

25s.) In this objective and penetrating study, Professor James P. Christoph of Ohio State University seeks to "illuminate the process of political decision-making in contemporary Britain" by examining the course of the death penalty controversy between 1945 and the passage of the compromise Homicide Act, 1957. It was admittedly unrepresentative of normal political and parliamentary struggles, and, for that reason, argues the author, it revealed "the strengths and weaknesses" in the instruments of government in Britain. There were certainly unusual stresses, but which were signs of strength or weakness is at least an issue. Twice, in 1948 and 1956, a free vote of the House of Commons in favour of abolition was overruled by the House of Lords successfully. As Professor Christoph points out, the Lords could claim that they were upholding the popular will, but, of course, this was wholly coincidental. There was no trimming of votes to provide a popular brake upon the will of the Commons. Twice the government, Labour and Conservative, had permitted a free vote in the Commons on the issue and twice refused to accept the normal consequences, giving the Lords and popular opinion as their excuse. Yet in spite of these obstacles, over the years the abolitionists made considerable headway, both in the country and Parliament, with the absurd Homicide Act, 1957, condemned on every side and making eventual abolition inevitable. Professor Christoph concludes that the struggle "exemplifies the strict limits of 'independent' parliamentary law-making and reinforces the familiar concept of the supremacy of Cabinet leadership in politics." This no doubt is correct within the compass of this book, but the story remains unfinished with the climax yet to come.

THE UNITED NATIONS AS A POLITICAL INSTITUTION (Oxford University

Press 7s 6d.) This valuable and very readable introduction to the organisation and work of the UN by Mr H. G. Nicholas was first published in 1959, and met with immediate success. Now a second and revised edition has been published in *Oxford Paperbacks*. This new edition incorporates very briefly the crucial developments in the history of the organisation since 1959, including of course the Congo intervention. Mr Nicholas clearly favours the executive functions of the Secretary-General. Of the Soviet "Troika" proposals for making the Secretary-General dependent upon three under-secretaries representing the world power divisions, the author writes "It would make hay of Articles 99 and 100 and would rob the UN of its most distinctive, dynamic and creative organ, reducing the Secretariat to the level of a service agency for a conference organisation." At a time of so much ignorant criticism of the UN, this volume deserves a very wide public.

THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA (Oxford University

Press 8s 6d.) This is the third edition of a short survey of conditions and prospects in South Africa by a liberally-minded South African, Mr Leo Marquard, first published in 1952. This new edition has been revised and published in *Oxford Paperbacks*. Mr Marquard writes with remarkable detachment and insight, and it is a volume which will be widely read. He is optimistic of the future, regarding 1961 as a turning point towards eventual political co-operation between Europeans and Africans. "By 1961 it was acknowledged by all Europeans of any consequence, in all parties, that political rights to non-Europeans cannot be denied." He recognises that affairs will become more critical but is not resigned to revolution.

Editor Deryck Abel

Consulting Editor. G. P. Gooch, CH, FBA, D Litt.

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CONTEMPORARY COMMENTARY—

CAN KENNEDY SUCCEED WHERE WILSON FAILED?

A LEGISLATIVE DEADLOCK

PROFESSOR KURT WIMER

This study is a companion piece to our contributor's article on "Wilson and Eisenhower Two Experiences in Summit Diplomacy", which appeared in THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for June 1961.

Professor Kurt Wimer is at present writing a book on the political philosophy of President Wilson. His publications on Wilson since last June include —

"Woodrow Wilson's Plan for a Vote of Confidence"—*Pennsylvania History*, July 1961,

"Woodrow Wilson and a Third Nomination"—*Pennsylvania History*, April 1962,

"Wilson and the Treaty Deadlock"—*Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society*, 1962

THE approaching Congressional election highlights the crisis between the President and the Legislature. The domestic programme of the Kennedy Administration has been thwarted by the 87th Congress. To ensure passage of his legislation the President deems it essential that the Democratic Congressional majority be increased. He is aware of an "extremely difficult job", but is determined to stage the fight to avoid a prolonged period of "inaction" which would prevent revitalization of American political life. The President counts on the people for support. He told correspondents on July 23 "November 1962 presents the American people with a very clear choice. They will choose to put anchor down or to sail." How should we evaluate the President's tactics? What is his chance for success? What will be the consequences of his challenge? What course will be open to him should he fail to win a Congress amenable to his plan?

To appraise President Kennedy's technique we turn to historic precedent. In the twentieth century Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the only chief executive able to increase his Congressional following in an off-year election. It is tempting to compare the present situation with Roosevelt's initial mandate for the New Deal in 1934. The two elections, however, differ fundamentally. President Kennedy himself stated "I think the people make a mistake when they compare this Administration automatically with Roosevelt's. FDR came into power in a crisis, the whole country was ready to follow him." There are other important differences. Roosevelt, beginning with the famous hundred days, was able to realize basic features

of the New Deal during his first two years in office. The voters in the Congressional election were in position to pass or reject specific legislation sponsored by the President. By contrast, Kennedy will present to the voters a reform programme which has been rejected by Congress.

There is a parallel to Kennedy's course of action involving a chief executive whom he admires. Woodrow Wilson, unable to come to terms with the Senate over the League of Nations, turned to the voters for a verdict. In spite of strenuous efforts Wilson was not able to bring the issue before the people. The immediate effect was failure to secure United States participation in the League of Nations. Long-range consequences were more serious. The blow to the executive branch was so pronounced that presidential leadership was crippled for over a decade. Though the struggle over the League is well known, President Wilson's experience is instructive and offers valuable lessons for the contemporary deadlock between President Kennedy and the 87th Congress.

1

Wilson's major conflict with the Senate was over the League of Nations. Ahead of his time, the President insisted that a pledge be included in the Covenant guaranteeing to member states what would now be called collective security. Even before America entered the war he called the Senate into special session to "disclose" to the Senators "without reserve" his plans for a post-war international organization. Shortly after making these overtures, however, he became aware of opposition from Republican leaders in the Senate to his plans for a League of Nations. He therefore decided on a different approach which, in the circumstances, held greater promise of success. He decided to base the programme for making the peace on executive authority and to put before the Senate a *fait accompli* which that body, he hoped, had no choice but to accept.

When the making of peace approached, Wilson appealed to the voters in the Congressional election of 1918. Apprehensive lest a Congress led by the opposition party "control him", he asked for the return of Democratic majorities in both houses. He explained: "This is no time either for divided counsels or for divided leadership." To his "distress" the voters elected a Congress controlled by the GOP. In view of the rebuff to the President many interpreted the result as a refutation of Wilson's leadership. Wilson remained steadfast in purpose. He wrote to Senator Key Pittman on the day after the election: "All sorts of causes have contributed to the result, but none of those ought either to discourage us or to divert us for a moment from our purposes." Still Wilson was "disturbed by the results." It is noteworthy that Wilson's October appeal started the decline of his popularity. The momentum of this decline was suggested by Senator Henry Fulton Ashurst, who wrote in his diary on December 1, 1918: "Two months ago WW was the foremost character in the world. He had reached a high pinnacle of human distinction. Today I doubt if he has twenty friends in Congress." •

After completing the draft Covenant of the League, Wilson attempted to adjust differences with the Legislature. During a brief absence from

the Paris Peace Conference he met with the Foreign Affairs Committees of Congress and subsequently sponsored amendments designed to make the Covenant acceptable to Senators. But he would not dilute the basic pledge under Article X which he considered "king pin of the whole structure." The President sent word to Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, the Administration leader of the Senate, cautioning that "if the Senate rejected Article X it would have to reject the whole treaty."

Wilson's main compromise effort was yet to come. After his return from Europe he held individual conferences with opposition Senators to enlist the support for the League. On August 19, 1919, he met with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and even gave his blessing to four interpretive reservations which Senator Key Pittman introduced in the Senate on the following day. When Wilson realized in late August 1919 that his Senatorial opponents would not compromise on the basis of his concessions he decided to take the issue to the people.

While the Senate considered the treaty, Wilson made an extended speaking tour to the West. He met with great popular enthusiasm. Before long, orators of the Senate trailed the President to arouse the people against the League. As tension between President and Senate heightened, the debate in the Senate became acrimonious. Resentful of presidential tactics, opposition Senators formed a united front. Wilson publicly denounced their terms—weakening of Article X—and threatened to pocket the contemplated version of the treaty. Before conclusion of the trip Wilson collapsed at Pueblo, Colorado. He suffered a stroke shortly afterwards. The Senate defeated the League of Nations on November 19, 1919.

During his illness Wilson pondered over the ways of resolving his conflict with the Legislature. Convinced that the people were behind him, he contemplated a scheme involving special elections between the President and opposition Senators. He went so far, in late December 1919, as to compose an appeal to the electorate in which he challenged opposition Senators to resign. If in special elections a majority of his opponents should be re-elected, he promised to appoint one of them as Secretary of State. The President and Vice-President would then resign so that the newly designated Secretary of State would become President of the United States. In the end Wilson refrained from issuing the appeal. His solution, perhaps possible by agreement, seemed impractical in the circumstances. Wilson's ingenious proposal suggested a way for superimposing the parliamentary system on the presidential system. A lifelong admirer of the parliamentary system, Wilson tried to emulate the British model to break his deadlock with Congress.

Wilson made a final attempt in 1920 to bring the League issue before the people. In spite of difficulties he tried to make the presidential election of 1920 "a solemn referendum" on the Covenant. His plan was to commit the Democratic Party, with himself as its presidential candidate, to a genuine League of Nations in such a fashion that the people could vote off it in November. He was remarkably successful in having the Democratic convention adopt his League plank but was unable to secure a third nomination. Without his candidacy, the election could not be concentrated

on the Wilsonian League Wilson's repeated and resourceful efforts to get a verdict from the people had proved futile The Senatorial decision was final

2

Pledged "to get the country going again", President John F Kennedy indicated in his inaugural address that he would make a new effort to put America on a sounder basis for leadership of the free world In dealing with his first Congress, Kennedy had legislative support for his major foreign policies By contrast, his main recommendations in domestic affairs have been defeated by the 87th Congress Reversals included medical care for the aged, federal aid to education, the Administration's farm programme and the establishment of a department of urban affairs Congress side-tracked some presidential recommendations Furthermore, the President refrained from making crucial requests for economic recovery convinced that his proposals could "not now be enacted" Kennedy considered the defeat of his domestic programme a setback to the growth of the United States and a retardation of the creative leadership he hoped the United States would assume in the 'sixties

Kennedy had counted on Congressional co-operation In his State of the Union message last January he declared "the Constitution makes us not rivals for power but partners for progress" Accordingly he sent numerous messages to Congress in which he explained his views Yet he did not rely solely on these communications nor did he insist that the Congress pass his proposals unaltered His tactics may be illustrated in his handling of medical care for the aged—perhaps President Kennedy's most conspicuous project Aside from the main message which the President sent to Congress in January 1961, he delivered a nationally televised speech at Madison Square Garden He explained his views frequently at press conferences and specifically refuted arguments by the American Medical Association The House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on the Administration bill introduced by Representative Cecil R King of California, but failed to report it On June 11, 1962, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff appeared before the Committee for "exploratory" exchanges Ribicoff indicated that the Administration was receptive to compromise but would insist on the "central principle" of the bill "The heart of the legislation," according to President Kennedy, was care for the aged through Social Security To yield on that issue "would be giving up on the bill and we don't plan to do that" Still the President supported a Senate compromise which included participation by private and group health organizations as well as Social Security financing When the bill was defeated in mid-July 1962, Kennedy realized that he could not secure passage of his programme by relying on a co-operative Congress In a statement he characterized Senatorial actions as "a most serious defeat for every American family" and expressed hope that the electorate would "return in November a Congress that will support a programme like medical care"

Shortly afterwards the President revealed his new strategy Convinced

that the 87th Congress would not pass his major requests he indicated that he would campaign for his programme in the November election. He told reporters on July 23 "I am going to help elect Democrats who support this programme." In his judgment a Democratic increase in the next Congress of "even a few seats" would make the difference between victory and defeat. The President was aware that he faced an "extremely difficult job" which he undertook only because the alternative was continued deadlock with the Legislature. He said "If the American people are against these programmes, then, of course, they'll vote Republican and we will have a state where the President believes one thing and the Congress another for two years, and we'll have inaction." He concluded "We'll see in November."

3

The President has been criticized for presenting a comprehensive programme to Congress without indicating priorities. But there were priorities. Congressional support for presidential legislation in foreign relations should not be taken for granted. It may be, as President Truman put it, that "the President makes foreign policy." Furthermore, what Kennedy called "national issues" may be more readily evident in foreign affairs. Still, the power of Congress in foreign relations remains potent especially when appropriations are involved. The trade expansion bill, which Kennedy considered "the most important measure to be considered by many a Congress", is a case in point. Its subject matter, the tariff, has been an extremely controversial domestic issue. Few would have predicted when Kennedy became President that a bill which authorizes the President to reduce tariffs 50 per cent or more had a chance for success. The President's popularity and his skilful guidance were largely responsible for its passage. Similarly, presidential leadership helped defeat crippling amendments to foreign aid legislation. Even after passage of the foreign aid bill apprehension remained about the size of cuts from authorized ceilings in subsequent Congressional appropriations. Kennedy would have taken grave risks had he challenged Congress prior to passage of his foreign programme. The lesson of Woodrow Wilson should not be forgotten. Not only was the battle between President and Congress fought in foreign relations but it extended to the dominant issue of the post-war period—United States participation in the League of Nations.

Many believe that President Kennedy should have used his popularity with the people to exert greater pressure on Congress while his programme was before that body. As seen, Kennedy employed available means to deal with—even woo—members of Congress. There are reports that liaison officers with Congress were so active as to incur Congressional resentment. Had Kennedy tried to arouse the people while Congress dealt with his legislation he would have widened the gulf with Congress without necessarily facilitating passage of his bills. The experience of Woodrow Wilson is instructive. Wilson undertook his western tour during the crucial debate on the League of Nations. Despite enthusiastic popular support Senatorial opposition stiffened. Significantly Wilson did not appeal

to the people till other means failed Kennedy surely had to exhaust traditional procedures before turning to ultimate weapons As it were, Kennedy's outspoken advocacy of his programme caused his popularity to drop from 79 per cent to 69 per cent The President commented "As I make my views clearer on these issues some people increasingly are not going to approve of me" Far from trying to hoard popularity—as some have suggested—the President indicated earlier "Any support I have must be used But it can't be used unless I have it" It is here a question of timing

There has been speculation about Kennedy's attempt to secure additional Democratic votes in the November election Congressional elections are frequently determined by local contests in which candidates take pride in their independence Much can be said for the President's contention that his social and economic programme ought to take priority. Historic precedents are not reassuring Woodrow Wilson's appeal in 1918 for "government under a unified leadership" failed; so did his subsequent attempts to get the people's verdict on the major issue of that period President Kennedy may find it impossible to concentrate the November election on his domestic legislation He may also be unable to affect in any large degree the voters' choice of Congressional candidates The trend in mid-term elections shows a decline in strength of the party controlling the Administration President Kennedy's task will be particularly difficult Not satisfied with retaining mere Democratic control in Congress, nor even with the existing ratio between the parties, he seeks a bigger Democratic margin than exists in the 87th Congress with its Democratic majority of almost two to one Clearly the President faces an uphill fight—and he knows it

An unsuccessful presidential campaign in November may precipitate a protracted conflict between President and Congress with dire consequences for the White House In this respect Woodrow Wilson's experience is foreboding The President's appeal of 1918 started his decline in popularity The prolonged struggle that followed was so damaging that Wilson toward the end of his Administration hesitated to "make any suggestions to the present Congress because they . . . treat everything I suggest with something less than consideration" President Kennedy is aware that energetic leadership may lead to conflict He believes that a president "must be prepared to use all the resources of his office to ensure the enactment of legislation—even when conflict is the result" Yet Kennedy is also known for calculation of the result In his own words the president "must know when to lead the Congress, when to consult it . . ." Surely America, in what he termed "the challenging revolutionary sixties", cannot afford a repetition of the all-out struggle between the Executive and Legislature that paralyzed the government of the United States towards the end of Wilson's presidency

Kennedy's handling of the campaign is crucial It is not a question of presidential participation in the campaign That is taken for granted It is rather a question of method and approach The President should avoid associating himself with expectations unlikely to be realized His comments

of July 23 give the impression of his close identification with a majority in excess of present Democratic strength. If on the basis of past experience in off-year elections such a political miracle should fail to materialize opponents may claim that the President lost his mandate. This is what happened to Woodrow Wilson partly due to unfortunate wording of his appeal for a Democratic Congress. After the election, Henry Cabot Lodge, the new Senate Leader, held that the Senate rather than the President represented "the real feeling of the people of the United States". The President should back candidates supporting his programme in such a way as to keep adverse effects to a minimum in case he cannot realize his goal. This could be accomplished through an educational campaign, perhaps centred in selected areas, in which the President uses the "bully pulpit" to convince the people of the need for domestic reform. Kennedy estimated in late July that "the American people are rather evenly divided on a great many issues". His legislative programme can succeed only through a groundswell of popular demand. Walter Lippmann considers it an "unwritten rule" that "important reforms and innovations will fail unless they command at least a two-thirds majority". Woodrow Wilson, it appears, could count on overwhelming popular support for a League of Nations immediately after the war. When normalcy became the watchword the President's cause was lost.

Can Kennedy succeed where Wilson failed? The answer depends on his ability to induce enough people to support his programme. Perhaps he can accomplish a transformation in one round of energetic campaigning. It is more likely that instilling a spirit of reform will require a major and continuing effort especially in time of relative prosperity. Kennedy should be prepared that the campaign of 1962 will merely lay the foundation for a long-range educational programme. The decisive battle may not come till 1964 when he is expected again to head the Democratic ticket.

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CONTEMPORARY PROFILE—

GREECE'S KARAMANLIS

THOMAS ANTHEM

AS the late Eleutherios Venizelos was held to be "the Maker of Modern Greece" in the political and geographical sense, for the national boundaries were more than doubled after the Balkan Wars and the Great War 1914-18 chiefly through his prestige and influence, so Constantine Karamanlis, the present Prime Minister, who has been at the helm for more than six years, may justly be claimed to be the architect of the New Economic Greece. His vigorous and ambitious planning already shows the country to have emerged from the status of a "backward and undeveloped" State, and be moving steadily along the high road to prosperity.

The first thing I would like to say about this tall, likeable lawyer of 55 is that, although he is something of a human dynamo in the current affairs of Greece—and the phenomenal building activity and reconstruction going on all over the country bear abundant testimony to his initiative and drive—M. Karamanlis bears no resemblance to the popular conception of a business tycoon. On the contrary, he is quiet, cultured in outlook and quite unassuming. The Germans were much impressed with his bearing when he visited Dr. Adenauer at Bonn, the Americans close to him when he was the guest of President Kennedy in Washington also assessed him as a strong leader of determination and character.

My own opinion of him, having long observed the Greek scene, is very high. As we sat talking in his large and palatial apartment in the Greek Parliament building, the Boule, my liking for him grew. "I am not a politician," he said to me. "I am too busy with the economy, and I have to work long hours." He disclosed that he puts in about sixteen hours a day at times. In highly geared planning one cannot delegate important tasks, as may be done in Britain. The candid admission of being no politician, a strange confession in a land where even the taxi-man and the street shoeblack are absorbed in politics, underlines the secret of M. Karamanlis's success. Most educated and intelligent Greeks, like shrewd, informed foreign observers, are only too acutely aware how, in the past, much of the national effort has been wasted in political wrangling. Progress has been seriously retarded. And, by contrast, the Karamanlis Government, during the period 1956-1962, has plainly and strikingly demonstrated the close inter-relation between political stability and steady economic progress. Between 1947 and 1961 the average annual income per head rose from about 140 to 315 dollars, though there is still a wide disparity in the distribution of the national wealth. The Premier hopes to rectify the inequalities.

"If only the people would be patient," he said to me on a previous visit, referring to his varied plans for building the Greek economy. This summer, when I alluded to the encouraging figures of tourism, which

opens up a wide horizon for Greece, he smiled and said with a degree of excusable pride "Soon we shall have touristic installations far superior to those of France or Italy." Having seen some of the splendid new lidos and bathing beaches which have been developed around the coasts of Athens and the Greek islands, I have to agree that there is substance in M. Karamanlis's claim.

A Greek of handsome appearance himself, the Prime Minister has an attractive wife, whom one London national newspaper described as "the most beautiful wife of any Premier in the world." It was on May 31, 1952, at the age of 45, that he married Amalia Canellopoulos, niece of Panayotis Canellopoulos, a former Prime Minister. Of kindly human qualities, yet showing stern firmness when occasion demands, the early life of Karamanlis followed a pattern common to so many Greeks before the First World War, his father, a schoolteacher and farmer, died when he was 18 and he had to look after his three younger brothers and three sisters. Born in the village of Protu, in the rural area of Serres, Macedonia, which was liberated by the Greeks in 1913, the region was still under Turkish rule when he first saw the light of day. Oddly enough, although his father had advised young Constantine to avoid a political career, destiny so shaped his life that he became the Premier of Greece at one of the most crucial periods in the country's long and turgid history.

After completing his primary and secondary education, he studied law at Athens University, was called to the Bar in 1932 and practised law in the district where he was born, Serres. As a member of the Populist Party, his political career began at the age of 28. He was elected for Serres in 1935, and returned in each succeeding election for the same constituency. During the Metaxas dictatorship, from August 4, 1936 until January 1941, and subsequently during the Axis occupation until October 1944, Karamanlis abstained from politics. In 1946 he was again returned to Parliament in the first elections held after the liberation. Various Ministerial appointments followed. In all of them he left the sharp imprint of his creative initiative and qualities of leadership.

His term of office as Minister of Social Welfare was particularly constructive. Most noteworthy was his ability in handling the refugee problem arising out of the rebel Communist war. The repatriation of 700,000 refugees, streaming towards the urban centres, though planned by the Greek Government and the American Mission to be completed within five years, was accomplished by Karamanlis in only six months. He had initially stemmed the exodus from the mountain villages by supplying the villagers with 60,000 firearms to defend themselves. Subsequently, Karamanlis instituted the system of "Work and Welfare", by which employment was provided for a great number of workers. No less important and fruitful was his period as Minister of Communications and Public Works, during which he applied high-pressure in the execution of transport projects and other big public works. By his achievements in the field of communications, road-building and agriculture, he evoked the esteem and admiration of all the Greek people, irrespective of political leanings.

Karamanlis had withdrawn from the Populist or Royalist Party in 1950 to join the Greek Rally of Marshal Papagos, and on the death of the soldier-Premier he was entrusted by King Paul with the formation of his first Government on October 6, 1955. On January 4, 1956, he founded the National Radical Union, a new political party of which he has since continued to be leader, establishing a record tenure of office by any Prime Minister of Modern Greece. On assuming office he found himself faced immediately with a number of serious problems. In external affairs he was confronted with the thorny Cyprus issue, which threatened to divide the country, and inflamed deep passions, arousing great resentment against England. At home there was not only an urgent need for a bold and imaginative programme of economic reconstruction and planning, but there was an equally pressing need of measures to deal with areas devastated by earthquakes. Nothing daunted, Karamanlis embarked on his numerous challenging tasks with characteristic energy and determination. If he claimed to be "no politician", he nevertheless desired to see an end of the hampering situation which divided the nation into the two main camps of "Venizelists" and "Anti-Venizelists", and it was for this reason that he founded the party of consolidation which he styled the National Radical Union. The new political alignment was at once supported by 180 MPs and was reinforced by a group of distinguished politicians, including former members of the Liberal Party.

At the General Election of February 19, 1956, all the other political parties, including EDA, the extreme Left, formed a united front against the National Radical Union. The best organised of the political groups, the Communists, sought to create internal dissension out of the Cyprus question, as well as exploiting the prevailing anti-Western feeling in the interests of Soviet propaganda. Karamanlis stood firm against the tide of national emotion, and emerged victorious from the elections, gaining 165 seats, against the 135 secured by all the other parties combined. On February 28, 1956, he formed his second consecutive Government, which remained in power for two years, until March 1, 1958.

On March 2 his constructive work was interrupted by the defection of 15 members of his party, including two Ministers, who withdrew their confidence because of their disapproval of the new Electoral Bill, introducing "reinforced" proportional representation. Despite the fact that he retained a majority of 153 deputies, and could have formed a new Government, Karamanlis tendered his resignation and recommended the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of fresh elections. Again his party was returned victorious with 171 out of a total of 300 deputies. He formed his third consecutive Government on May 17, 1958.

The Zurich and London Agreements, which brought an end to the strife in Cyprus, cleared a major obstructing problem out of the way of Greece's indefatigable Premier, who was able to apply himself with much more zeal to the over-riding job of building Greece's economy. Between 1955-1960 his Government balanced the Greek Budget, which, instead of the recurrent state of deficit, has since 1957 produced a surplus of 1,000 million drachmas, devoted to the public investment programme. This impressive

achievement has been followed by the stabilization of prices and the currency, which is now regarded internationally as strong and sound. The Greek cost-of-living index, now one of the least fluctuating in the world, increased only by 10.9 per cent between November 1955 and November 1960, comparing with increases of 31.7 in France, 15.9 in Norway, 14.1 in Britain, 13.9 in Holland, 11.8 in Germany, 26 in Yugoslavia, 44.8 in Spain and 91.6 in Turkey.

It may seem strange that in a country where there are still a million unemployed or under-employed, there has been very impressive growth of saving among the masses, but the figures at the banks speak for themselves. As a result of the rising personal incomes, private bank deposits and those in special credit institutions rose from 3,102 million drachmas in 1955 to 17,996 million drachmas in July 1961. The savings have had the effect of making finance, notably lacking in the past, available in abundance for the general purposes of the national economy. Undoubtedly the most outstanding significant achievement for which Karamanlis has been responsible has been the devising and application of the Five Year Economic Development Programme, published in its final form on April 9, 1960. This envisages total investments of 110 billion drachmas or 3.67 billion dollars, of which 35.5 billion drachmas will be accounted for by public investment, particularly in the section of agriculture, industry, mines, tourism, electrification, airport and harbour improvements, telecommunications, public education and social welfare.

Taken as a whole, the programme aims at the rapid and continuous increase of national income and the reduction of unemployment and under-employment. Indeed, it is estimated that at the end of the five-year period, national income will have increased by 34 per cent, and will represent about 400 dollars per capita, against the 1955 level of 214 dollars. The development which is planned is many-sided, being directed chiefly at the increase and improvement of cultivable land crops, large-scale industrialisation, the exploitation of mineral resources, infra-structure projects, the export of fruits and wines, and tourism.

From all his economic efforts, Karamanlis hopes for an ultimate standard of living for the Greek people which will compare favourably with that enjoyed by most western nations. That is what he meant when he said to me "If only the people would have patience." Side by side with the rapid economic development which has taken place since he took over the reins of government, the Prime Minister has pursued a policy of social welfare on broad lines. A most important step was the extension of the insurance system to the rural population of Greece. Until 1955 there was an insurance system in force which covered the Civil Service, the free professions and wage-earners in urban employment. In 1955 the first Karamanlis Government introduced legislation providing medical care for the farming population. By November 1960, after personal study of the problem by the Prime Minister himself, a Bill was drafted and introduced in Parliament for "Farm Social Insurance." This covers rural workers and farmers for health insurance, old age pensions and crop insurance.

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Greece's association with the Common Market—the first country in Europe to link up with “the Six”—is an historic event in the country's economic progress. As M. Karamanlis has declared, “This has been made possible by the economic progress and stability achieved by Greece in recent years. The Greek people appreciate the vast opportunities for economic progress offered by the association.” The EEC has not been moved by any sentiment in considering Greece's claims for special terms, the agreement is a tribute to the confidence which “the Six” have in the Greek people and their Prime Minister.

Karamanlis's main aim is so to diversify and modernise the Greek economy that it can hold its own when exposed to the full blast of intensified European competition. This means relying more on industry, if only of a light kind, and less on agriculture, and in order to carry out the full economic programme and enable Greece to become economically independent the Greek Government is appealing to foreign financial sources to provide adequate and generous aid or loans, now that American free aid has been brought to an end. It estimates that about £285 million will be required until 1966 to meet the deficit of foreign and domestic payments under the strain of rapid industrialisation, and another £36 million will be needed to bolster up foreign exchange reserves. Nearly one-half of the required loans has been secured, and the consortium for aid to Greece which was set up on the recommendation of the NATO Council has been asked to provide the balance. In addition, free allied defence support worth £36 million will be required in the next two years if Greek defence is to be stepped up to the quotas demanded by the NATO Command. Hitherto the Greek Budget has borne a burden of almost 40 per cent of the national income in order to serve the purpose of western defence, despite American military aid.

M. Karamanlis is fully aware of the difficulties which still lie ahead in shaping Greece's economic future, but immense strides have been made during the past few years, and the portents for the future are good. The currency is strong; a recent internal loan of nearly £12 million was fully subscribed. Earnings from tourism, shipping and Greeks abroad last year contributed £96 millions. The prospects for tourism are unlimited, and only cheaper air transport is needed to make Greece a hot rival of France and Italy, providing employment for an increasing number of the Greek people. Greece is fortunate in having the right man at the helm at a time when the economies of most of the countries of Europe are in the melting-pot and when there is a strong movement for integration.

WORLD VISTAS—

JAPAN AND THE COMMON MARKET

JOHN BARR

who recently returned to Norfolk after three years in the Far East, where he was a University Lecturer in Japan, Korea and Okinawa, and a member of the editorial staff of an English-language newspaper in Tokio

AS the Great Debate over Britain's union with the European Economic Community continues, there is—outside the Commonwealth at least—no more intensely inquisitive an eavesdropper than Asia's only truly industrialised power, Japan. The intensity of Japan's concern over Britain's decision is exceeded only by her concern over the true nature and future course of the EEC. And no nation of Asia, excepting the Asian Commonwealth countries, has more justification for her eavesdropping and cause for concern than has Japan.

Indeed, so vital is her interest in the Brussels debate and so vexing is her very geographical separation, her absence of "on the spot" communication with negotiators, that Japan is, in effect, coming to Europe.

Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda is to visit Britain and the capitals of The Six this month. And although he recently announced in Tokio that his European tour would involve discussions of such international problems as Berlin, Communist China's representation in the United Nations, and nuclear disarmament, it was apparent to observers both in Japan and Europe that Mr Ikeda's overriding intent is to discuss the impact of the EEC on Japan and to argue Japan's case for favourable treatment by the Community.

In his discussions with Mr Macmillan, the Japanese Prime Minister is certain to propose a more dramatic increase in United Kingdom-Japan trade and technological agreements, and urge an end to what the Japanese consider to be "discriminatory treatment"¹ by Britain toward's Japan's exports.

Japan's Trade with Britain

Mr Ikeda's arguments for a substantial increase in trade between the two nations should, at least, appear at an auspicious moment, not long after the conclusion last summer of trade negotiations between the British and Japanese that promise a healthy and mutually profitable acceleration in commerce.

Many Japanese and not a few British businessmen long despaired over the protracted, frequently ruptured Anglo-Japanese trade negotiations which have finally reached a reasonable degree of agreement. The negotiations, which began in 1956 and continued on and off for some six years, were revived and stimulated this year by visits to Japan by Mr Frederick J. Erroll, the President of the Board of Trade, a trade mission led by Lord Kilmaunock, President of the London Chamber of Commerce, a visit by Sir Norman Kipping, Director-General of the Federation of British

Industries, and, of course, the trade treaty negotiators themselves, led by Mr William Hughes, Under-Secretary of State at the Board of Trade.

On his arrival in Tokio, Mr Hughes referred to "the long and hard negotiations on an Anglo-Japanese treaty of commerce" and spoke of the previous visits by British trade leaders which, he said, "were successful in drawing attention of British exporters to opportunities which should come with trade liberalisation in Japan"² Quite apart from the factor of "trade liberalisation", which we shall examine later, the British visits pointed to a growing recognition among United Kingdom industrialists of Japan as a market for British capital goods Mr Erroll was even more specific when he said "Whatever our future relations with the European Community may be, there is a wide scope for developing trade between Britain and Japan"³

Certainly Mr Erroll is correct, if only that consistently rising income levels in Japan, coupled with the Japanese passion for foreign-made goods, offer an ever-expanding market for the quality consumer goods which UK manufacturers produce

And although UK-Japan trade has been nowhere near the levels that are potential and desirable, there has been a substantial rise in trade over the last few years British exports and re-exports to Japan rose from £23.9 million in 1956 to £43.1 million in 1961, while UK imports from Japan displayed a less consistent pattern of increase, fluctuating from £24.2 million in 1956 to a high of £43.1 million in 1959, slipping to £39.3 million in 1961, the first year since 1957 when the trade balance favoured Britain⁴

Still, trade between the two countries accounts for less than 4 per cent of the total trade of each of the countries and a vigorous acceleration in trading is obviously needed, as is a bold increase in an area heretofore too much neglected technological co-operation Last year Japan paid out nearly £34 million in fees and royalties for foreign technology⁵ But so far Britain, unlike United States and West German manufacturers, has scarcely penetrated the area of technological agreements with Japanese partners, an area which offers one of the best prospects for increased Anglo-Japanese economic co-operation

With Mr Macmillan, as well as with the leaders of The Six, Mr Ikeda will almost certainly urge an end to "discriminatory treatment" towards Japanese exports and outmoded concepts of the inferior quality of Japanese products Japanese products today speak for themselves, but the discrimination Japanese industrialists speak so often and so vigorously about centres, in the main, on Article 35 of GATT⁶ The application by Britain and the European Common Market countries of this so-called "escape clause" is seen by the Japanese as a major obstacle to expanding Japan's exports Indeed, so inflamed is the feeling in Japan over Article 35 that the Government of Prime Minister Ikeda was severely attacked by the nation's press when, this summer, there appeared to be governmental disagreement over the proper approach on the GATT clause to take with the British and EEC governments⁷ Japan expects Britain and the EEC to revoke the escape clause, Britain, in turn, expects for revocation safe-

guards by which she may restrict her imports from Japan and application of a list of "sensitive items"⁸

Should, then, Japan and Britain (particularly a Britain outside Europe) succeed in further increasing trade and technological co-operation and find a lasting, workable solution to the problems raised by the GATT escape clause, a part of Japan's concern over developing and powerful trade blocs from which she is excluded will be satisfied. But if it is a Britain as full member of the European Economic Community with which Japan must in future deal, all of Japan's concern will be necessarily centred on the larger problems of economic relations with the European Common Market

Japan Eyes the EEC

Until the formation of the European Common Market four years ago, Japan was only secondarily concerned with Europe as a market—a situation due in great part to her dependence on and inter-relationship with the US market. But with a general levelling off in US-Japan trade and the growing need for an economically resurgent, indeed booming Japan to look elsewhere for the markets which, as a nation particularly dependent on trade, it requires for survival, Japanese attention has been, of late, more and more fixed on Europe. Japan's exports to the EEC countries increased by 30 per cent in 1960 and by 27 per cent in 1961.⁹ By the end of last year, Europe accounted for 13.1 per cent¹⁰ of Japan's total exports and had become Japan's third largest customer among regional areas—after Asia and North America and well ahead of Africa and Latin America, two areas in which the Japanese are energetically expanding trade and technical assistance.

In fact, after dramatically re-shuffling his Cabinet in July, changing 13 of 16 cabinet posts, Mr Ikeda announced that one of the reorganised Cabinet's most pressing problems would be how best to cope with the developments of the EEC and how to increase trade with Europe. It is too early to assess what lines will be taken by the new Ikeda Cabinet, although the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Europe this month should offer a reasonably clear indication of the course Japan intends to pursue. Certainly Mr Ikeda, although harassed at home by severe factionalism in his ruling Liberal Democratic Party, should be able to speak with even more authority for Japan than in the previous two years of his leadership. For two powerful faction-leaders, former Economic Planning Agency Director Aichihiro Fujiyama and former Trade and Industry Minister Eisaku Sato, have left the Ikeda Cabinet. "Strongmen," as the Japanese press likes to call men of the Fujiyama-Sato calibre, have not replaced them, an indication that Mr Ikeda wishes greater personal control over Japan's future economic and foreign trade policies.

Mr Ikeda is receiving vigorous prodding from the majority of Japanese businessmen and from the national press to "take counter-measures to meet the growing trend towards the formation of economic blocs, a trend that will isolate the Japanese economy from the world unless suitable steps are speedily taken."¹¹

Prominent among the "suitable steps" urged upon him are, (1) elimination of GATT Clause 35 and (2) establishment of Japanese footholds in the Common Market region—Japanese-owned factories or assembly plants in Europe, staffed by Europeans to circumvent tariff restrictions. It is pointed out that examples of how this might be done are already in existence—a transistor radio assembly plant in Ireland and a polyvinyl chloride plant in Portugal. (Significantly, perhaps, neither example exists within the EEC area.) "But these represent a tiny fraction of the inroads made by the United States and Britain," said *The Japan Times* in a recent leader. "We feel, therefore, that Japanese business should study ways and means of establishing itself in the EEC area, thus overcoming the delicate problem of country of origin."

"Delicate" is a favourite word among Japanese economists, but the key word in Japanese reaction to the European Common Market is "isolation." She fears the EEC will develop into an inward-looking, highly protective organisation and that the United States, Japan's largest single customer, will look more and more to the Atlantic rather than the Pacific. The result, as Japan sees it, will be economic isolation for Asia and Africa. Mr Ikeda himself has termed the developments of the EEC "a matter of grave concern to us" and so fearful are many Japanese of economic isolation that at least one prominent industrialist has publicly gone so far as to attribute the EEC's "cold reception" to Japan to the fact that "the Japanese are not regarded as an Atlantic race."¹² Thus the issue of the EEC as a "white man's club" is raised once again. In addition, the Japanese Foreign Office has stated that "the EEC members are still plagued by the notion that Japan is a low-wage country and, more fatally, with past trading having been at a low ebb, they have not yet shown much interest in future trade with this nation."¹³

Japanese businessmen, although given on occasion to an inordinate amount of self-pity, are at the same time realistic enough to know that Japan cannot interest the EEC in allowing Japanese-owned factories in the Common Market region, cannot interest the EEC in increased trade with Japan, cannot expect the EEC to eliminate GATT Clause 35 unless Japan, on her part, makes solid gestures of co-operation.

Thus, it was with an eye on the EEC that this autumn Japan enforced a so-called "90 per cent import liberalisation." But a little-publicised fact is that the base year for the much-publicised liberalisation is 1959, a year of tight import restrictions, a year of such restraints that many foreign items were not imported at all. And the 10 per cent of 1959 purchases which still remain under strict foreign currency allocation include such vital products as heavy electrical machinery, refrigerators and automobiles, while the commodities liberalised include such non-vital or rarely traded items as nightgowns, sweet potatoes and potable water. Congruently with this rather misleading if not deceptive liberalisation, Japan raised tariffs to compensate for the relaxation of import controls; indeed, some of the new tariffs exceed the levels approved by GATT,¹⁴ the very organisation which Japan so often cites as a contributor to "discriminatory treatment" towards Japanese exports. The end-result of Japan's liberalisa-

tion coupled with tariff increases is that Japan is still indulging in strong protectionism for her industries and it is certain that the EEC nations recognise that so far Japan has not made sufficient gestures to encourage increased trade. Japan must do better than this. If she does not, and if in fact she is shut out of Europe, isolated by the EEC, where can she turn? To the United States, to Communist China, to the Soviet Union, to the Commonwealth, to South east Asia—to any or to all of these.

Japan's Trade with the Soviet Union and Communist China

Year in and year out over the past decade, Japan has been second only to Canada as the United States' biggest world customer, and every year, with the exception of 1959, the balance of trade has favoured the US by about £200 million annually—in 1961, by nearly £300 million. The same year US imports from Japan reached a record \$1,126,527,000.¹⁵ Thus while Japan is naturally striving to exploit still further the American market and erase the unfavourable balance-of-trade, most Japanese industrialists feel today that Japan has saturated the US market. The economic inter-dependence of the two nations, growing out of the American occupation of Japan, has been invaluable and contributed more than any single factor to the resurgence of Japan as an economically powerful country—but if, in fact, a plateau, perhaps permanent, in US-Japan trade has been reached, then Japan must necessarily turn elsewhere.

Geographically speaking, the Soviet Union and Communist China represent the best hopes. But trade with the Soviet Union is, of course, as much, if not more, a political issue as an economic issue. Mr Ikeda's conservative government has progressed most cautiously along the path of increased trade with Russia, for fear of treading on American toes. Even so, the Soviet Union has become Japan's No. 2 customer¹⁶ and Mr. Ikeda, bolstered by his re-election in July as Liberal-Democratic Party leader and thus as Japan's Prime Minister for another two years, has in his recent public pronouncements been more assertive of Japan's right to establish stronger economic links with the Soviet Union, although he has not gone so far as the country's major opposition parties—the Japan Socialist Party and Democratic-Socialists—which in last summer's Upper House election campaign came out foursquare for trade with both Russia and mainland China. But after the election campaign, Mr Ikeda did go so far as to say that Japan's so-called import liberalisation “would be applied in principle to Communist nations on an equal footing with free nations”,¹⁷ an indication perhaps of his recognition of the need for even more trade with Russia and Communist China should Japan be isolated by the anti-Communist EEC bloc.

A Japanese economic mission composed of leading businessmen visited the Soviet Union in August, in response to the tour of Japan by Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan. Last May, Mr Mikoyan told Ichiro Kono, Japanese Agriculture and Forestry Minister, then visiting Moscow, that he was “stunned” by Japan's industrial power, and he asked for Japanese assistance in developing the USSR's Far Eastern territories—a project most appealing to Japanese industrialists and one which the Japanese

Government may soon feel compelled to undertake, in view of the EEC

While a further increase in the trading pattern with the Soviet Union raises political problems, the question of trade with Communist China is politically even more explosive. Last June Mr Ikeda stirred up a political storm in Japan with his announcement that Japan would continue to accelerate its trade with mainland China even if the US raised objections. He said simply that trade was necessary, for Japan must expand her export markets, and that Japan was losing out to West European countries in Communist China. Much of Mr Ikeda's bold pronouncement, observers in Tokio felt, stemmed from pressures brought by Japanese trading firms who have long urged the Government to approve a deferred payment formula for Communist China trade. Much of his pronouncement, it was also felt, was purely political—a part of his campaign to retain the party leadership and increase his party's representation in the Upper House—and that, in fact, he has no real intention of vigorously advancing trade with Communist China.

The ruling Liberal-Democrats did, however, send a delegation of politicians and economists to Peking in mid-September, an action which reportedly caused American officials in Tokio to fear a rapprochement in not only economic but political matters between Tokio and Peking.¹⁹ Whether the delegation is indicative of a dramatic change in Japan's trading pattern with Communist China, which at the moment amounts to a scanty 0.5 per cent of her total overseas business, remains to be seen. Political considerations, at least so long as a conservative government rules in Japan, will probably eliminate any drastic increase in trade with Japan's Communist neighbours. Japan may, then, turn more and more and more to the south.

Japan, The Commonwealth and Southeast Asia

While Japan has a recent history of enmity with Britain difficult to forget, the Commonwealth nations of Asia have histories, both real and sentimental, of deep friendship and co-operation with Britain. Yet if Britain goes into Europe on terms that severely damage Commonwealth economic ties, then Asian Commonwealth countries will share with Japan, in varying degrees, the dreaded state of economic isolation and, history or no, there seems no more obvious course than closer economic co-operation with Japan. As Leonard Beaton has pointed out,²⁰ Japan is a very promising market for Commonwealth countries—and, one might add, vice-versa. The trend in accelerated trade between Japan and Australia, for instance, has been apparent for some time,²¹ and a considerable section of the Japanese press has long urged the Government to approach at least Australia and New Zealand more earnestly.

Apart from Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong (which, in many areas such as textiles, is too direct a competitor for Japan), however, Japan encounters the formidable problem of economic underdevelopment when she looks to the south. Southeast Asia's markets are, generally, not sufficiently developed to accept many of Japan's capital-intensive industrial goods, at the same time, they are themselves developing the labour-

intensive light industrial goods which, heretofore, have been the mainstay of Japan's exports to the region. Mr Toshiaki Yoshihara has warned that Japan "should not let the present strong competitive position of its light industry goods overshadow its future needs"²²—i.e. Japan must strive to change its exports composition to Southeast Asia in favour of heavy and chemical industry goods centring around heavy machinery, a trend already initiated by highly industrialised Western nations, West Germany in particular, in their trade and technical co-operation with Southeast Asia.

Certainly, as Mr Sato has stated, "Japan, as a highly industrialised nation, is capable of supplying the capital goods required by Southeast Asian nations"²³. But the fact is that Japan's post-war schemes for greater economic involvement with Southeast Asia have not matured as fully as was hoped. Quite apart from the bad name Japan has in Southeast Asia, from the war years of "the mutual co-prosperity sphere", Japan has talked more than acted on the matter of economic co-operation with Southeast Asia. Loans have been most modest, especially in view of Japan's booming economy, reparations payments to Burma and South Vietnam have been made only after prolonged tough bargaining, and the best record to date has been established in the sphere of technical assistance.²⁴ Japan is surely conscious, in the whole context of the Common Market question, of the need to expand further her economic partnership with the Asian Commonwealth countries and with the developing nations of Southeast Asia. No doubt the EEC, particularly an EEC with Britain in it, will serve as a stimulus to get Japan out of the talking and into the acting stage on many economic schemes.

If, then, as is apparent, Asian Commonwealth countries and Southeast Asia stand to gain so much from economic partnership with Japan, the logical step appears to be the establishment of a working regional economic bloc, an Asian Common Market.

A Common Market for Asia?

The foundation, both in mutual needs and in organisational structure, for an Asian Common Market exists. The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) has gone far to make the nations of the region conscious of the benefits of economic co-operation, and ECAFE offers the skeleton upon which the flesh of a true Asian Common Market could develop.²⁵

At the 18th general meeting of ECAFE in Tokyo last spring, the question of a common market for Asia appeared, was questioned, then dropped for the time being. That the discussion was not more fruitful was due in great part to Japan's lukewarm attitude towards formation of an Asian Common Market.

Japanese delegates to ECAFE cited the wide political differences in Asia and the equally wide economic gaps as barriers to a regional common market. The Japanese, and not a few delegates from the seventeen other ECAFE nations, suggested that an economic bloc along the lines of the EEC is not the answer, at this time, because in most countries of Asia purchasing power is in short supply and a common market of sellers

without money to buy simply would not work. Indeed, some observers feel that Japan has totally rejected all tentative proposals for a Pacific common market,²⁶ while this may be a slightly strong statement of Japanese reaction, it is essentially true at the present time—and without Japan's full co-operation, no Asian common market could possibly be born.

ECAFE itself, as well as Japan, recognizes the impediments to establishing a workable economic bloc. In its annual survey for 1961,²⁷ it stated

"Income levels in the ECAFE region (except for the Federation of Malaya, Japan and the Philippines) continue to be among the lowest in the world. Import capacity remains crucial for economic development, and this has not grown equally with import requirements.

"However serious and urgent the economic challenge which the under-developed countries of the region face, the experience of the 1950's does not suggest that they have striven hard to meet this challenge."

These are discouraging comments, and the ECAFE report went on to cite the fact that intra-regional trade over the past decade has tended to weaken and that the present programmes for economic development in the various countries of the region may accentuate this tendency. "Intra-regional trade will also be affected in ways which are not yet clear by the progress of the European Economic Community and its probable inclusion of new members, including Britain."

More optimistically, but more vaguely, the report speaks of "a new wind that is blowing" in Southeast Asia, stirring up "joint ventures, marrying foreign and indigenous resources, which have become prominent in even those countries that have hitherto been notable for economic nationalism."

Even this brief survey of economic difficulties, quite apart from political ones, which agitate against Asian partnership is sufficient to suggest that the answer, for the time being, to the question of a common market for Asia is No—not now. Whether an Asian Common Market ever develops depends to a considerable extent on the effects the EEC has on Asia and upon the future economic course pursued by Japan. For Japan is the key to Asia's economic future.

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- ³ "Japan", a supplement to *The Statist*, July 13, 1962, p. 35.
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- ⁶ General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- ⁷ In July the Japanese Foreign Office announced "It would not be advisable for Japan to be retaliative and discriminate against foreign nations which restrict imports from Japan." At the same time the Japanese Trade and Industry and Finance Ministries announced opposition to any major concessions to the EEC in order to encourage withdrawal of application of GATT Article 35.
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- ¹⁰ Some 5 per cent of which went to Common Market Countries and 2.8 per cent to Britain. Asia took 38.1 per cent and North America 27.6 per cent—from *Look Japan*, March 10, 1962.
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- ¹⁶ In July of this year, Japan's exports reached the third highest monthly level in the post-war period. Sales to the US were in excess of \$124 million and to the Soviet Union nearly \$33 million, primarily ships and factory equipment—*The Japan Times*, August 10, 1962
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NOTE

Since 1960 John Barr has published the following free-lance articles on political and economic topics

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ARGENTINE CHALLENGE

E. H. RAWLINGS

THIS year has so far been one of political unrest for Argentina, because of the endeavour of the armed forces to prevent the Peronistas from playing any active part in the political life of the country. How effective their efforts have been to curb the growth of *peronismo* over the past few months is still a debatable question.

The political conflict began when a military coup overthrew President Frondizi less than two weeks after the congressional elections on March 18. These elections brought to a head the increasing difficulties which had existed between Frondizi and the armed forces since he was first elected President in 1958. But the real reason for the coup was that Frondizi had permitted Peronista candidates to put up for the elections. This was allowed because it was believed that the Peronists would not win because other small parties would vote for the President's party—Union Cívica Radical, in order to stop a Peronista victory. Instead the Peronistas gained ten of the fourteen provincial governorships and forty-three seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Even so, the elections gave President Frondizi a working majority in the Chamber of Deputies, which he had hoped would enable him to take a rather less conciliatory line with the armed forces after meeting their demands. But within a few days a political crisis developed between President Frondizi and the military leaders as the latter forced him to intervene in eight of the governorships to stop the Peronistas from taking office. He reluctantly did so, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Vitola, resigned in protest. Moreover, President Frondizi stated that he wished to conform with the Constitution and allow the elected Peronistas to take their seats. This statement finally decided the military leaders to carry out a coup and oust President Frondizi before he came under the influence of the Peronistas.

Although events have brought an important issue to light, they are in fact the result of a series of events which have accumulated during Frondizi's term of office. When he was elected he returned with the support of the Peronista vote, which represented about a third of the electorate and gave him a four million majority. Had not the provisional military Government of General Aramburu, set up after the revolution of September 1955, respected the Constitution, it would have certainly prevented Frondizi from taking office. But as the armed forces had been thoroughly purged of *peronismo*, Frondizi found himself in the difficult position of trying to appease the armed forces and the labour section of the population. During his term of office he survived thirty-six governmental crises because he resisted the opposition of the armed forces.

Moreover, Frondizi soon lost the support of the Peronistas after his election and became less popular with other sectors, though his party gained strength. He failed to keep a promise that he would again let the Peronistas control the labour movement and would gradually recognize the legality of their political party. No doubt because of pressure from

the armed forces he did not give final recognition to the Peronistas until March this year. Yet this promise was made two years after Peron's exile when Frondizi's emissaries contacted the deposed dictator.

Despite the political conflicts which Frondizi had to face, he managed to introduce economic reforms which have to some extent improved Argentina's economic position. During his first year of office no attempt was made to counteract the rising cost of living, the decline in industrial production and the fall in the gold and foreign exchange reserves. However, when I. A. Alsogaray was appointed Minister of Economy in June 1959, he introduced a programme designed to restrain the growth of money supply, eliminate budget deficits, stabilize wages and prices, encourage domestic and foreign investment and balance the overseas payments position.

Such measures were unpopular with the working people as the removal of costly food subsidies meant that many consumer prices rose steeply. Although a wage increase partly compensated for the rise in the cost of living, there was a reduction in the purchasing power of the working classes, which resulted in strikes and acts of sabotage. However, the economic reforms were largely successful as the cost of living rose by only 12 per cent in 1960, while the national product began to grow again after declining in 1959. Investment increased and there was a recovery in industrial productivity. The budget was balanced for 1960-61 and for 1962 because Government expenditure was reduced by pruning the grossly over-staffed federal administration.

While the internal economy has substantially improved over the past three years, the basic problems of allowing an expansion of industrial and commercial activity and at the same time avoiding inflation is unlikely to be solved until sufficient domestic capital is available and export earnings are equal to the cost of imports. At the moment, Argentina relies on foreign aid, investment and credit for her economic expansion, foreign investment is now coming into the country at the rate of £35 million a year. But this will only solve the immediate problems of industrialisation and is no substitute for domestic investment and increased exports.

Generally speaking, only a substantial increase in exports will provide a long-term answer to Argentina's problems. At present export earnings do not pay for the minimum volume of imports required to maintain industry and expand it at a pace which will avoid unemployment. Unfortunately, the terms of trade have deteriorated against Argentina, for rising production costs in North America and Europe have sent up the cost of Argentina's imports. At the same time, Argentina is finding it more difficult to dispose of her exports of food and allied products, because of the agricultural subsidies and protectionism now operating in most northern countries. Between the end of 1961 and the end of March 1962 the country's foreign exchange reserves fell from £260 million to £140 million. It seems that the position can only be improved if radical changes are made in agriculture, as it is likely that Argentina will have to start importing wheat and even meat.

Therefore, President Guido is faced not only with the task of improving

his country's economic problems but also promoting a balance of peace between the armed forces and the Peronistas. Until his inauguration after the disposal of Frondizi, Senor Guido was provisional President of the Senate, and a close personal and political friend of Frondizi. He was asked by the Army Commander-in-Chief, General Raul Poggli, to accept the Presidency when they were pressing Frondizi to resign. No doubt because of his close relationship with Frondizi, they tried later to ignore him. He was finally appointed after Frondizi released him from his pledge that he would not serve, in order to prevent a complete military take-over of the Government.

Although President Guido has the same ideals as Senor Frondizi, he appears to be more under the influence of the armed forces. At the end of May he issued a presidential decree adjourning the Argentine Congress for a year in order to prevent the Peronistas deputies from taking their seats. Moreover, all political parties were ordered to reorganize and to elect new executives. Public reaction to these undemocratic measures has been displayed in a series of strikes and acts of sabotage. The Government's objective in issuing these decrees is to prevent any party or person from coming to power with the purpose of setting up a dictatorship. These measures have, of course, been taken to restrain the Peronistas from coming to power when the next elections for the Chamber of Deputies are held on March 31, 1963. Will they succeed is still a delicate question.

Perhaps the most worrying factor which the Government has had to face has been the recent crisis in the Army when a number of junior officers refused to obey the Chief of Staff, Gen. Turolo, after he was appointed by Gen. Saravia, the newly-appointed War Secretary. Both these appointments were held by Gen. Loza until he was forced out by rebel Army commanders pressing for a complete take-over of the Government. They contended that Argentina was being threatened by Peronistas. The unrest in the Army resulted in the resignation of Senor Cantilo, Minister of Defence, in August in an attempt to end the continuing crisis. Discontent also spread to the Navy and Air Force.

It is, therefore, plain to see that certain sections in the armed forces are anything but satisfied with the present Government and fear that the Peronistas will eventually come to power again. The armed forces appear to have special political functions in Argentina, and consider themselves responsible for preserving right-wing democracy and for suppressing *peronismo*, or any extreme left-wing movements. They also represent the interests of the country's business and so advise the President on economic and monetary policies. Moreover, they seem to have a strong voice in foreign affairs as they forced President Frondizi to break off relations with Cuba after Argentina had taken a liberal and enlightened position at the Punta del Este conference of the Organization of American States in January this year.

While the armed forces are determined to eliminate the Peronistas from political life by whatsoever means that are necessary, the strength of the Peronistas must not be underestimated. When General Peron was exiled in 1955, he left behind him a competent political machine which brought

ITSELF A WORLD

A birch's virgin body
And her skeins of green hair swirled
About her in the sun and wind
Are in themselves a world

Walled in her timeless emerald
Her fountains fall and soar
To a music no composer
On earth could ever score

And the dancing stars of her small leaves
That kiss again and again
Their shadow-selves on her dazzling limbs

Outpace the swiftest pen

Light's play and wind's play on water
Are not more secret than
Her naked wood-nymph loveliness
Eluding mortal man

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about a political and social revolution, and had given the working class a taste of power. Despite all the measures taken to make *peronismo* an ideology of the past, the strength of the Peronistas has not dwindled over the past seven years, because, if it had, the Peronistas would not have been so successful at the last elections and neither would Frondizi have been elected President in 1958. Therefore, there seems to be some truth when Peron once said "Peronismo will survive me."

It is indeed extremely unlikely that the methods used by President Guido's Government to suppress *peronismo* will succeed. The extreme Peronistas have already shown their disapproval by calling strikes and engaging in acts of sabotage. But any use of violence against the Peronistas could easily result in civil war and the possible return of Peron himself. This is only too well realised by the Government. It appears that the Government is attempting an impossible task by trying to prevent the Peronistas from playing a part in Argentine political life when they have the support of one-third of the electorate. Providing that no open conflict arises in the meantime, the greatest test for the Government will be the presidential election on October 27, 1963, when the public will vote for a new President. If the President is elected democratically it will be the Peronista vote that will elect him, and thus will again start a series of political crises.

TWO CONSTABLES OF FRANCE: HERRIOT AND DE GAULLE*

DERYCK ABEL

AMONG the segments of the French political spectrum, Edouard Herriot and Charles de Gaulle stand far apart. Herriot, Mayor of Lyons, Prime Minister, President of the National Assembly, President of the Radical Party, was the heir of the Revolution—a man of 1789, with no small admixture from 1830, 1848 and 1870. The Third Republic was his glory and his pride. He sought to perpetuate the nobler elements of the Constitution of 1875 into the Fourth Republic and beyond. "This man," cried Martinaud-Déplat, "is the Republic in person!"

On the other hand, the General, though the doctrine of Maurras is not for him, comes of Royalist stock. His father, a Royalist, had nonetheless espoused the cause of Dreyfus. The General takes what he wants, as a scholar, from the Republic and from the Bourbons, and, as perhaps we shall see, from Louis Napoleon. It is all of a piece that an early post-war meeting between Herriot and De Gaulle should end with a heated exchange over the policy of Louis XV.

Herriot was the man of Geneva, or, as we should say today, of Lake Success. There was also something of Clochemerle in him, and yet the two elements were not incompatible. He combined a large-souled internationalism with a Girondin or Brissotin regard for local liberties. There is little of Joan of Arc either in Geneva or in Clochemerle, and the General tends to disdain both. In the twenties, Herriot embraced the Pan-Europa of Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Aristide Briand dreamed of himself as first President of the United States of Europe. De Gaulle looks askance at federalism and declares for *L'Europe des Patries*—the ideal of a bygone age.

Beside the contrasts, there are two profound similarities. Both men are steeped in historical scholarship, Herriot in the French literary tradition too. Herriot was a poor economist. So, too, is de Gaulle. This is almost endearing in our technological age. Even so, de Gaulle knows how to choose technocrats, and Herriot was not averse from a fine old Radical rodomontade against the money power. The critics who suggest that Herriot was most at home in the old schools controversy (*le cléricisme, voilà l'ennemi!*) have a case. History will honour him for his contribution to secondary education reform.

The two books before us are as different in tone, tempo and timbre as the two statesmen. For the rest of the century, the 626 pages of Michel Soulié's *La Vie Politique d'Edouard Herriot* will remain a major source-book for historians of the Third Republic, and, to a lesser extent, of the Fourth. Admirably proportioned, this eloquent book moves at a cracking pace from the Mayoralty of Lyons and the Ministry of Public Works,

* *La Vie Politique d'Edouard Herriot*. Michel Soulié. Préface de Jean Rostand. Paris: Armand Colin. 32.50 NF.

De Gaulle. Edward Ashcroft. Odhams. 25s.

the wartime Senate, and *La Chambre "Bleu Horizon"* to the success of the "*Cartel des Gauches*", from Geneva, Poincaré and Lausanne to the Popular Front, and from the War of 1939, the armistice and the deportation to the triumphant return of the Mentor of the Republic. Documentation and bibliography are first-class.

Edward Ashcroft's study of the life and career of the present President necessarily suffers from the anomaly that the life and the career are not yet complete. Yet of the books which have appeared on this theme since that black but stimulating June of 1940, this is the best in English and should attract a catholic public. It is briskly written and acceptably factual. Within the range of a volume that clearly cannot be definitive, the sources are well deployed, for Mr. Ashcroft prefers, on the whole, to turn to de Gaulle himself rather than to Gaullists.

What of today? In a characteristic epigram, de Gaulle said of Herriot: "I asked him to aid in the reconstruction of France. He answered that he wished to devote himself to restoring the Radical Party." He offered the former Prime Minister Cabinet office with duties roughly similar to those of Governor Adlai Stevenson as US Ambassador to UNO. Herriot declined. The criticism was far from just, the phrase reveals a blind spot in the bearer of the Cross of Lorraine. Herriot was concerned with much more than the Party. Despite his opposition to M. René Pleven's Plan for a European Army, the Radicalism of Herriot, a self-styled Cobdenite, was not only a national but also an international cause. Gaullism is no more than a national cause, though it seems to have an ally in the current leader of the Federal German Christian Democrat Party.

Herriot was first and foremost a Parliamentarian, President de Gaulle intensely dislikes Parliamentarians and their ways, and rates the rights of the Press higher than the rights of the Legislature. His first concern in internal politics is a vastly enhanced presidential power, and as M. Paul Reynaud, the Prime Minister who first gave him office 22 years ago, opined, he seeks to be Churchill and King George VI, Adenauer and President Loebke, rolled into one. Whether France wants a President who is also Prime Minister of his own Cabinet remains to be seen. Certainly President de Gaulle, unlike such constitutionalists as the moderate Socialist President Vincent Auriol and the moderate Conservative President René Coty, always wishes to be *primus*, pure and simple, and never *primus inter pares*. The spirit of Herriot is abroad. There is growing opposition to the Bonapartist or Hitlerian technique of answering such questions by referendum or plebiscite. Meanwhile M. Gaston de Monnerville, the courageous President of the Senate, bears the mantle of Edouard Herriot. He, too, is of the lineage of Condorcet and Gambetta.

October 11, 1962

"L'homme d'Etat est celui qui réalise en lui la raison et l'impose autour de lui par la croyance"—EDOUARD HERRIOT, *Préface inédite à "Jadis"*.

THE SALIN FESTSCHRIFT

F. M. GODFREY

HEIDELBERG between 1918 and 1933 was surely the most exciting of German Universities. Here, wedged between the castle hill and the Philosophers' Walk, town and gown mingled in happy insouciance, here the glistening river wound its way towards the plain of the Rhine, and here in this so very southern landscape, where fruit and vine abound on the slopes of the Odenwald, the golden youth of Germany flocked to the lecture rooms of an outstanding band of scholars. Among them (and contemporaneously) taught the philosopher Jaspers, the unusually brilliant literary historian Gundolf, the Romanist E. R. Curtius and the temperamental and infinitely stimulating Alfred Weber, economist and sociologist of our civilisation. After Germany's collapse in 1945 Weber and Jaspers played their part in the moral and intellectual rehabilitation of Heidelberg University.

The most outstanding pupil of Alfred Weber was Edgar Salin, for more than one generation Professor at Basle University. His colourful personality and work in many fields are reflected in this *Festschrift* to his 70th birthday. In the mid-twenties Salin attracted great numbers of students to his lectures by the controlled enthusiasm and incisiveness of his teaching and his personality. For Salin was not only one of the leading and most controversial economists of his time, a man of action as well as of theory, the founder of the Friedrich List Society and the editor-in-chief of his collected works, the author of a standard textbook on economical history, but also a man steeped in the humanistic traditions of Europe, whose work includes books on Plato, St. Augustine, Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Stefan George.

The *Festschrift* pays homage to the fighting spirit of the scholar, the leader of academic youth and the born writer and orator, whose firm artistic diction not only fired his youthful followers, but was the envy of older scholars, who could not escape the tyranny of the professional jargon of their special subjects. Contributors include friends of a lifetime, colleagues and pupils, statesmen, economists and men of letters such as Theodor Heuss, Erwin von Beckerath, Hans Luther, Luigi Einaudi, Karl Jaspers and many others. Besides professional studies on economic theory, the book contains essays on a wide range of subjects from classical Antiquity to Dante, the new state of Israel or the communal life of cities and the sociology of art, to name only a few. Such a book is by its nature a miscellany of individual tributes, whose totality reflects the astonishing breadth of one man's vision. Perhaps the most important essay is that by Jaspers on the political thought of Max Weber, that great founder of German sociology as an objective science. Jaspers inquires how Weber's ethical sense of responsibility and truth-loving patriotism might have reacted to the crimes of National Socialism. His despair in a state which no longer derived its dignity from the nation would have been infinite. But to reject the German nation "for ever and in every shape and form" would have been equally impossible to him.

It is in this spirit that Salin, immediately after the war, from his citadel of Basle actively intervened in the salvaging of those better forces of Germany which had been oppressed for so long. More recently, his profound knowledge of Friedrich List, that advocate of a European customs union, made him the herald of *Kern Europa*, an economical and political union, equal in influence with the Soviet Union and the USA.

Antidoron Edgar Salin zum 70 Geburtstag J C B Mohr, Tübingen

LETTER—

ISAAC FOOT MEMORIAL

The Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

Sir,—

The Right Hon Isaac Foot, who was mourned by Liberals everywhere, gave outstanding service to the Party throughout his life. He sat as a Member for the Bodmin Division in five Parliaments between 1922 and 1935. He was Minister of Mines in 1931-1932 and a member of the India Round Table Conference. He was, in 1947, President of the Liberal Party and was largely responsible for keeping alive a vigorous Liberal organisation in Devon and Cornwall during the Party's most difficult period.

We feel that a permanent memorial should be established to his memory in his own Division and the Executive of the Bodmin Division Liberal Association has asked us to lead this appeal, which we do most gladly.

The Bodmin Association wants to raise a sufficient sum for alterations, decorations and suitable furnishings in the main hall at the Liskeard Liberal Club as a worthy memorial. The hall will be re-named THE ISAAC FOOT MEMORIAL HALL, and the furnishings will include a permanent display cabinet containing many of the writings and personal mementos which mark various stages in Isaac Foot's political career. We feel that this form of memorial, which is designed to prosper in a practical way the cause for which he did so much in his lifetime, would have particularly appealed to Mr Foot, and we are delighted to be able to say that Mr Grimond has been amongst the first of the subscribers.

May we ask sympathisers among the readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, both at home and abroad, to send any contribution, large or small to Douglas Horrell, Esq, Chairman of the Bodmin Division Liberal Association, The Liberal Office, Liskeard, Cornwall. Cheques and Postal Orders should be crossed and made payable to "The Isaac Foot Memorial Fund."

Yours faithfully,

JEREMY THORPE,
Member of Parliament,
North Devon

PETER BESSELL,
Prospective Liberal Candidate,
Bodmin

- .. Copies of a Souvenir booklet, whose features include tributes by the Right Hon Viscount Samuel, O M, and the Right Hon Jo Grimond, M P, and the full text of articles in *The Times* by the Right Hon Lord Birkett and in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW by Deryck Abel, may be obtained on application to Peter Bessell, Esq, 36 Clarges Street, London, W 1

THEATRE—

MORALITY AND THE NEW DRAMA

JOHN PARRY

THE story has often been told of how Shelagh Delaney once went to see a play, *Variation on a Theme*, by Terence Rattigan. Shelagh Delaney was a 17-year-old factory girl, while Rattigan was generally acknowledged at that time to be England's leading dramatist. What did the dramatist have to say to the factory girl? Nothing. She came out thinking to herself "If this is drama, then I can do a lot better." And so, the story runs, she went off home and wrote *A Taste of Honey*.

This is a useful story because it points right away to the big gap between the two different groups of playwrights. Rattigan typifies the kind of theatre which the new dramatists reject. This is more than the usual squabble between a new style and an old, for the difference goes deeper. The difference lies in the intention as well as in the end-product. Playwrights such as Rattigan working for the West End or commercial theatre must keep strictly within the moral code currently accepted as respectable. This is not necessarily the true morality as we see it in the behaviour of people we know. On the contrary, it is the public image of a morality, the official as opposed to the private set of rules. And it is where their plays appear to be most daring that they conform most of all.

The new dramatists all either challenge or reject or even ignore such codes of accepted behaviour. They tend to search for a reality underneath the received view of people and their supposed motives. This does not mean that they are immoral, but simply that they do not identify moral truth with the official standards of our present-day society. Such standards seem to them to be false, a mere form of words. They are looking for something at once more real and more intense. This alone puts them in a different category from the West End type of playwright producing scripts for the entertainment industry. The new dramatists are artists who are trying to use the theatre to say something which is vital to them. They may not always say it successfully, but it is the attempt more than the achievement which distinguishes the artist from the hack.

While we should not view them as in any sense a movement—they have very different styles, subject matter and theatrical origins—they all seem to share a deep and passionate concern for human beings. Probably for this reason, they often distrust motivation, or at least the sort of motivation that we have become accustomed to in the theatre; for this seems to them little more than a facile surface, a pat set of ideas and prejudices which tend more to hide than to illuminate the real person. As Artaud, the great theorist of the French avant-garde, put it: *For everyone, a civilised man is one who has learned about the systems and who thinks in systems—in forms, in signs, in representations. He is a monster who has developed to the point of absurdity that faculty we have of drawing our thoughts from our deeds, instead of identifying our thoughts with our deeds*.* In our attempt to justify ourselves to ourselves,

* Antonin Artaud *Le Théâtre et son double* (Gallimard) (My translation)

we try to see our actions in an identifiable pattern, and we do this retrospectively, losing ourselves, as Artaud says, *in the wishful shape of our deeds*. Thus we deny the true reality that we often do things without motives, almost at random. The theatre has been particularly dominated by a mechanistic view of human behaviour. We expect the playwright to show how every action has an explicable cause. The new dramatists feel too passionately about our being alive, about the fact of our human existence, to be satisfied with this.

In *A Taste of Honey*, for example, we have a series of events which, if stated bluntly in the manner of a French's catalogue plot summary, do not sound basically very different from those of many other plays. Jo's mother, Helen, goes off with a new lover, leaving Jo to fend for herself. Jo has an affair with a coloured sailor. She becomes pregnant. He goes off to sea. A young art student, Geof, comes to live with her and look after her. In the end, Helen comes back just before the baby is to be born. These events could easily be given all sorts of psychological motives—Freudian motives, perhaps, explaining the mother's neglect of her daughter, or telling us why Jo should choose the homosexual Geof to live with her. But nothing of the sort is in the play. The events happen merely because that's the way life is. For example, Helen does not go off to Blackpool because she hates her daughter, or didn't want her in the first place, but simply because Peter has invited her. Shelagh Delaney undermines, I think deliberately, the standard mother-daughter image. "Have I ever laid claim," Helen asks, "to being a proper mother?" The most positive point about their relationship is that Helen recognizes her daughter's separate existence.

Shelagh Delaney is rejecting the system of received values, just as she rejects the whole idea of a pattern in human events. Things just happen; they are not part of a grand design. If they do have any causes, these are likely to be small and unimportant, often accidental. Even when Helen returns to Jo in time for the baby to be born, it is not because of any surge of mother-feeling, but because Peter has kicked her out. In writing the play, Delaney's approach was probably instinctive and not the result of an intellectual decision. She created in theatrical terms an echo of reality as she saw it, not in terms of plot so much as in character. Her people have a living presence. Jo says "I really do live at the same time as myself, don't I?" So do all the characters in the play. In her later play, *The Lion In Love*, it is just this quality which is missing.

John Osborne's is a far more self-conscious and aggressive approach. His first success, *Look Back In Anger*, has a conventional plot and structure. Jimmy Porter's wife gets fed up with him and leaves him. He consoles himself with her best friend. At the end of the play his wife comes back to him. But Jimmy Porter himself is so big a character that this little framework bursts at the seams. He shouts, curses, is filled with self-pity and with contempt for other people. He is a misfit, a working class boy who has been educated into the middle classes, and married into them, but refuses to accept their attitudes and prejudices. He is a character with such vitality and such a contemporary quality that he seemed to come

right off the stage and into one's life. The outer casing of English politeness was stripped away completely, and we were left there with a raw human being. He is the only character in the play who has this impact—but this is already one more than we were accustomed to in the London theatre.

This play is structurally weak, for in it Osborne used the standard mixture of naturalism and the well-made play which was quite unsuited to his purpose. It is interesting that in *The Entertainer* he sought a different technique. The story, which on the surface concerns the private lives of a family of music-hall comedians, is told in a series of scenes interspersed with music-hall turns by its main character, Archie Rice. He is a man who knows what is wrong with himself in this world where all values are debased, where there is no purpose, no vitality, no truth, and yet he can do nothing about it. He is impotent and helpless. His daughter Jean makes her protest in Trafalgar Square, but this is not what he means. He tells how, late one night, he heard a negress singing in a lonely dreary bar. "She was poor and lonely and oppressed like nobody you've ever known. Or me, for that matter. I never even liked that kind of music, but to see that old black whore singing her heart out to the whole world, you knew somehow in your heart that it didn't matter how much you kick people, the real people, how much you despise them, if they can stand up and make a pure just natural noise like that, there's nothing wrong with them, only with everybody else." This quotation helps us to understand what the new drama is really about.

Since *The Entertainer*, Osborne's only considerable play has been *Luther*, where again he shows a raw lonely man in a dishonest world. Luther is presented as a man whose spiritual experiences are so intense that they become one with his bodily suffering, and he opposes a dishonest Church which traffics in indulgences and false relics. "Shells for shells, empty things for empty men." Through this picture of pre-Reformation corruption Osborne is again attacking our own time, which offers us words in place of spirit, thoughts following deeds, tidy book-keeping in place of honesty.

I feel that the essence of *Luther* did not come over in Tony Richardson's production which wrapped itself around the play like a massive fur coat and obscured the outlines. We could have done with less incense, less grandeur and gloom, and more Brechtian demystification. As it was, people came out of the theatre thinking they had seen a play about Luther, rather than a play about themselves. But the play itself is not altogether successful. In particular there is a serious failure in narrative, and Osborne has not solved the problem of how to handle the events between the Diet of Worms and the end of the Peasants' Revolt. He also begs the whole question of Luther's attitude to the Peasants' Revolt. This is interesting, because Osborne's work is socially aware; yet, when it came to the point, he evaded the issue.

Arnold Wesker, on the other hand, never evades it. One wishes sometimes that he would. He presents himself as a kind of working class champion, yet there is something phony about this. Most of his characters

are marginal to English industrial life. They are refugees, cooks, farm labourers, RAF recruits (probably the nearest he gets to ordinary experience) and an improbable idealist who attempts to set up a William Morris-style cottage industry. He lacks sympathy for working-class values. He preaches at the workers and wants them to change their outlook on life. He would like them to sing folk songs which the folk have forgotten, and to play Bizet on the gramophone on the principle that the pop music of yesterday is better than the pop music of today. If they won't listen, he shouts louder. If they don't support his political ideas, he bemoans the lack of solidarity in the working classes and thinks they are toadies because they don't take up the correct attitude in the class war.

In making these accusations I am referring solely to what he has written in his plays and not to his position outside the theatre. His work in connection with Centre 42 is particularly valuable. Yet in his plays he does not appear as a genuine working class writer but as a Marxist intellectual who is more concerned with theory than with hard economic facts. We might compare him with Brecht, whose characters are fully aware of the basic economy of man's existence: he must eat, drink, have shelter, stay alive. By contrast, Wesker's people are motivated by a left-wing idealism. In *Chicken Soup With Barley*, which is probably still his best play, the significant thing about the characters is not their working class jobs but their Communist Party activity. It succeeds because all its characters are sympathetically and vividly drawn, and convincingly shown as subject to the changes which time brings. There are no sudden "dramatic" reversals or moments of truth, but rather a gradual process of change.

But this is a play about the left-wing movement, and not about working people. Where he does deal fully with working people, as in *Roots*, we can see how openly he manipulates plot and characters to fit his theme. His labourer family, the Bryants, consists of thin, cardboard, cartoon figures, who are there to demonstrate a theory. In *The Kitchen* this technique is even more obvious.

Wesker has shown himself so far to be a skilful, but slightly old-fashioned left-wing journalist, using the stage as his medium rather than the lesser weeklies. He certainly cares as passionately as any of the others about human beings, but one cannot get rid of the feeling that for him anyone above the rank of lance-corporal ceases to be fully human. He lacks that feeling for the individual which Delaney shows—"I'm a very extra-ordinary person. There's only one of me like there's only one of you." He lacks also that angry flame which burns inside the invective of the moralist John Osborne.

Among the new dramatists, Osborne and Wesker are practically alone in preaching. John Arden, who is equally concerned with social themes, is indeed so far from stating his theme clearly in his speeches that his plays have often been misinterpreted. *Live Like Pigs*, for example, was thought in some quarters to be an attack on the welfare state, whereas it is in fact a subtle examination of systems of human order. The peace of a council housing estate is shattered when a disreputable family of beggars and

prostitutes is brought to live there, and this family in its turn is thrown into disorder by the arrival of the half-mad, half-gypsy Blackmouth and his two companions. This is the last straw for the old estate-dwellers, who emerge from behind their convention of politeness and good neighbourliness and surround the house, intent on lynching the occupants. In *Sergeant Musgrave's Dance* his theme is pacifism. Musgrave arrives with his men and a coffin. In the coffin is the body of a local boy who was killed overseas. As a reprisal for his death, five natives were taken and killed. Now Musgrave, intent on showing people what war is really about, intends to kill five more men for each of the dead natives. Arden gives no explanation beyond this, but merely states what he considers to be the relevant facts, using for this purpose a loose series of scenes interspersed with songs in a traditional English ballad style.

By contrast, Harold Pinter works through evocation. He does not set out to write plays in the accepted sense of the term, but rather to catch and hold for a time a relationship, both between people and between a person and the fact of his existence. The surface of his plays is always easy enough to describe. In the earlier plays particularly the incidents follow each other with such a complete lack of logic and motivation that the result is dreamlike and threatening, as a bad nightmare. This comes partly from a deliberate technique of mystification. For example, in *The Room* a fact is no sooner established than it is contradicted, and we are left with nothing solid to hold on to. More recently this nightmare quality has been replaced by a strong sense of reality, although motivation is still absent. *The Connection* is as much as anything a study in this absence of motive.

Pinter uses words as other dramatists use character or action. He uses the rhythms and phrases of ordinary speech, usually of less educated speech, complete with its clichés, pauses and repetitions. His meaning is not stated in his words, as it would be with Osborne or Wesker, nor does he give us the signposts which Shelagh Delaney or Giles Cooper would provide. Rather, Pinter's words are put there in the same way as the actor's body or the stage properties, and we are expected to draw the meaning out of the total stage experience. In *The Caretaker*, in which Pinter abandoned his tricks of mystification and gave everything a natural explanation, each of the three characters clings to his own illusion of security. Old Davies, the tramp, feels he has only to get down to Sidcup in order to recover the papers which will prove his identity—an action which he never performs. Mick's security is in words themselves, in the list of names of London districts, numbers of buses and their routes, or details of interior decoration. And Aston has his room full of junk, things he can see and touch, such as old bedsteads, gas stoves, cases, pots, pans and buckets. From all these elements together emerges the puzzle of relationships which are often nothing more than false trails, and the picture of man as a raw shivering human being who is looking for a safe corner where he can hide.

It is in this sense that the new dramatists can be described as intensely moral. They do not put forward a system of morality, but try to look through the systems to find man himself crouching behind them.

THE BRITISH SCENE—

LIBERALS AT LLANDUDNO

WILLIAM WOLFF

IN the nine months before Llandudno, Liberals had begun to arrive. They were moving into the political premises which Labour was vacating. In the year's by-elections they had pushed Labour out of the second place to the bottom of the poll in all the Tory-held seats.

For the first time in more than thirty years the electors were taking seriously their claim to be THE radical alternative to the Tories. Their percentage of the total votes cast in sixteen out of the seventeen by-elections which they contested in the first half of the year jumped to 31.3 per cent from around the 25 per cent mark in the previous year.

At Llandudno they determined to step up the speed of the move. They went away to canvas five million known Labour supporters in their council estates and terraced tenements. Their message to them was that Labour stood still while the world—and the Liberal Party—were pushing on. And the four days beside the Irish Sea were designed to give them powerful ammunition to ram home that message.

They were ready to take over just a few of the fittings left behind by Labour. But they made it clear that their decor was avant-gardist, and had no room for such Georgiana as nationalisation, Protection and genuflexion to trade union susceptibilities.

One of the fittings the Liberals have taken over is that labelled planning in all its five-year splendour. The methods were not mentioned by Mr Frank Byers. But in moving the first Executive Resolution on "Achieving a Liberal Society" he set out the aim: "The preparation and implementation of a five-year plan to achieve the optimum rate of growth." A proposition sensible enough to gain wide support and vague enough to arouse no opposition.

What distinguished the Llandudno approach to economics from that of the other two parties was its all-out drive for competition. Tariffs were to be cut by executive action, monopolies attacked by fresh legislation. This bracing blast was to be fanned into every corner of the economy.

Unequivocal was the condemnation of fixed prices for branded goods—resale price maintenance. Arguments that RPM protected the small shopkeeper were swept away by a powerful vote.

"Resale price maintenance is against the consumer interest," said Mrs Gaenor Heathcoat Amory for the Executive. "It prevents efficient retailers passing on some of the benefit to their customers. . . . Some retailers say they need to keep profit margins relatively high in order to give special services. . . . At present shoppers pay the higher price without necessarily getting the service."

In the new Liberal society shopkeepers are to compete with each other not only in price but also in hours of opening. Protests about a rat race in the High Street were swept aside by Mrs Heathcoat Amory, the prospective candidate for Taunton. "We do not propose to weaken in any way the protection of shopworkers, but we do believe that it is high time shops were allowed to open at whatever hours they wish."

In all this the new Liberal thinking starts from the assumption that those who provide the services can look after themselves, and protection is needed by those who buy them. So at Llandudno, Liberals pledged themselves to give consumers the right at law to demand replacement of defective goods—or their money back. Under Scottish law they can already do so. Liberals propose to amend the law of England and Wales in order to bring it into line with that north of the border.

Llandudno also pledged Liberals to set up a Consumers' Council. It is to do for the shopper what Neddy is supposed to do for the economy as a whole, and Nicky for wage and salary earners—lay down standards and keep a spotlight at the ready to be turned on to culprits.

On industry itself, Liberal policy emerged blurred with caution. A two-page Resolution, moved in sections by four platform speakers, wrapped up the policy like an opera cloak—it hinted at a shape but hid the substance. The general aim proclaimed at Llandudno was the creation of a "New Industrial Democracy". Beyond that, the Assembly committed itself to very little.

The idea of co-ownership was brought up from the 1950s, but hardly even dusted down. The Resolution on this subject wanted an amendment of the company law "to recognise established employees in public limited companies as members of their company and to provide effective participation by both shareholders and employees in the determination of their company's policies."

What does this new status mean, other than the continued receipt of a weekly wage packet? Mr Desmond Banks, the Executive Chairman, made it clear that it did not mean interference with the function of management. "The managers would be appointed as now by the Board," he said, "although we would expect them to operate within a framework of joint consultations."

Positively, it might mean one of three things. (1) employee directors on the board—the proportion he left unspecified; (2) a supervisory council on which both employees and shareholders would be represented and to which the right to make certain important decisions would be reserved, (3) an annual representative meeting, composed 50/50 of representatives of shareholders and employees, to replace the present annual meeting—as already suggested by the party's Industrial Committee.

Mr. Banks put emphasis on the fact that these were suggestions, not plans. "We are not asking the Party to commit itself to any one particular method of giving effect to the employee's right to participate in ultimate control," he said, "but we are asking the Party to give notice that it is our intention to legislate to give the employee this right."

On trade union practice the conference wanted more factory and company autonomy in agreeing wages, but the method of promoting this was again left open. The one practical step to dealing with redundancy and the encouragement of greater mobility of labour was a plan to set up a National Redundancy Insurance Fund.

On housing and town planning, as on industry, diagnosis and desiderata were abundant, but detailed prescription scant. The generalities—like

"reorganise the central government to ensure the effective co-ordination of planning policies" and "develop new towns and major magnet areas"—were decked out with another attractive label "Bringing Britain Up-to-Date".

But of fresh practical proposals there were only two. First the setting up of a Land Development Corporation to make grants and loans to local councils to help them buy town areas in need of unified redevelopment. Its task would be not only to dish out money, but also expert advice.

Secondly, the setting aside of £100 million by the Government for loans—at market rates of interest—to Housing Associations which provide homes to rent.

For transport, Arthur Holt, the new Whip, came forward with a policy that was detailed and draconian. The cure for the present mess was a large dollop of medicine concocted from the purest liberal economics. Fair competition between all forms of transport and economic rates for everyone.

Mr Holt underlined this point. Often people travelled for pure pleasure. And most travellers already paid their full share of cost.

"The discipline exerted by a paying customer at the point of sale and the obligation to balance income and expenditure," he said, "are required to avoid huge waste of resources."

Then he rammed it home. "The object is surely not that transport should be a Social Service in the modern meaning of that term, but that it should serve the social needs of the people." And with those stern words another piece of Georgiana was sent crashing out of the window.

Mr Holt's bracing doctrine was just a little too rigorous for the Assembly. They followed him so far. But they threw out with convincing majorities two parts of his Resolution which urged that road users pay in accordance with their use of the roads; and that economic rates be charged for all forms of transport. They were quite sure that they no longer wanted Liberalism and *laissez-faire* to be co-terminous.

The Common Market provided the high spot of this as of the other two party conferences this year. It set the conference alight with a fire that warmed but did not sear. On this subject Liberals lost all their caution and reserve.

"Do we accept," asked Mrs Elma Dangerfield, prospective candidate for Hitchin, "that we want this country to go into a federation?"

"Yes," roared the conference.

Incredulous, Mrs Dangerfield asked again. "Do you really accept that we be legislated for by a European Parliament?"

"Yes," roared the Assembly.

Mrs Dangerfield made one more attempt to shake them. "Do you really think that it is possible for this country to be part of a federal state of Europe and still be the centre and core of the Commonwealth?"

A few "noes" were drowned by a third salvo of "ayes."

This exchange made all the headlines. Rightly so. Mrs Dangerfield with those three questions had put her fellow-Liberals through a course of deep analysis and uncovered strong, clear and uncomplicated feelings.

That was its full and only significance. The demonstration did not commit the Liberal Party to a policy of European federalism. That proposition did not appear in any Resolution, and was not put to any vote.

The only resolution on political unity in Europe, taken two days after the Dangerfield treatment, called for "new efforts to strengthen the European Parliament" by two methods. (1) giving it greater (and unspecified) powers; (2) arranging for direct election of its members. Economic integration, said Mr John Pardoe, prospective candidate for Finchley and mover of the Resolution, must inevitably lead to increased power at the centre. The problem was how to control that power.

"I believe that whoever or whatever has the final responsibility for making the decisions in Brussels," he added, "should be *elected*."

The elected Parliament in Brussels should make merely those decisions which were now made by the secretariat in Brussels.

Mr. Pardoe went on to strip the word "sovereignty" of some of the bogeys that have got stuck hard on it. "Pooling of sovereignty," he said, "is not the same thing as surrendering sovereignty—that implies one-sided action." Pooling of sovereignty was what one did in all treaties, and all human relationships, especially marriage.

In all the major speeches on the Common Market, Liberals cut the present talks in Brussels down to their size in history, and dealt with the problems of the next phase. As Mr Grimond put it in a passage for the books. "Is one of the great political decisions in history to be reduced to a question of 5 per cent more or less on the tariff on canned peaches? It is as if, at the Reformation, some had said they were unable to make up their minds until they knew what price the monasteries were likely to fetch."

As far as Liberals were concerned, the question was only rhetorical.

Mr. Mark Bonham Carter, in a speech that was the talk of London as well as Llandudno, summed up what had already been achieved by Britain's application to join. first, Britain was already making the European Economic Community a more outward-looking community; secondly, it had prompted an immediate response from President Kennedy; thirdly, the EEC had now openly acknowledged its responsibilities to the outside world.

It was on these factors that Britain should concentrate her attention. "The terms on which we enter are only one part, perhaps not the most important part, of the story. What really matters are the policies which the EEC pursues in the next decade: whether they will be more Liberal if Britain is a member—or if she is excluded; whether we will be able to influence those policies more effectively as one of the leading powers within Europe, or as an outsider shouting from the sidelines."

"I have no doubt that our place is inside, fighting for the policies in which we believe."

And at Llandudno, Liberals had no doubt about it either. While Labour preserved 1,000 years of history, Liberals built a new wing on to the old abode to cope with a growing family.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS—

BUNSEN AND GERMAN LIBERALISM

HENRY KANTER

GEORG VON BUNSEN was one of the ten children of Baron von Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador to England. One of his brothers became an Anglican clergyman and was the father of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Washington. Like his father, Georg von Bunsen married an English woman and throughout his life frequently visited England and maintained close correspondence with English friends, in particular with Lord Houghton, that most European of Englishmen.

The portrait of Georg von Bunsen shows an elderly gentleman of prepossessing appearance, his grey hair neatly brushed, his moustache neatly clipped. The blue eyes gaze straight and firm, with a light in them which bespeaks a mind capable of swift and witty retort. As one studies the face, one is reminded of his *jeu d'esprit* during the fiscal controversy of the Bismarck era, when, parodying Bastiat's Petition of the Candlemakers, he submitted to the Reichstag a "petition" from the South German farmers living near Switzerland, beseeching higher tariffs in view of the increased Swiss competition they would have to face after the building of the St Gothard Tunnel. Although the author of the petition had his tongue in his cheek when he described the Tunnel as "this criminal overthrow of a barrier which the Universal and Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to set," he had the joy of seeing many Germans accept the "petition" as genuine, even Free Trade journals were taken in, publishing angry leading articles against the illiberalism of the "petitioners".

The glint of wit is apparent in the eyes and the line of the mouth; and there are strength and integrity there also. It is the face of a man of breeding and humane intelligence.

Yet, glancing from the portrait to von Bunsen's biography, which the author, his daughter, significantly sub-titled *A Character Portrait from the Camp of the Defeated*, one is haunted by the sense of a thwarted and wasted life. Von Bunsen was an outstanding figure in German Liberalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, and he is associated with the melancholy history of his party. Was the failure a purely personal one, or was it inseparable from the general petering out of the once proud and influential Liberal tradition in Germany?

Certainly, he never relinquished the ideals of the vanquished lovers of freedom. When he inscribed in his notebook a quotation from J. R. Lowell:

"As less the golden glow abides,
And less the chillier heart aspires,
With driftwood beached in past spring tides
We light our sullen fires",

he added the comment "This does not apply to me!".

To a delegation of Liberal deputies, come to congratulate him on his seventieth birthday, he said that, however depressing a view he might take of public affairs, an incorrigible progressive could always persuade himself to hope afresh.

Yet his own view of public affairs, as shown in his letters, was nothing if not depressing. "The aim of my life, to found voluntary public services, has been pulverised and blotted out through Bismarck's mania for the omnipotent state, and the discredit he throws on all free initiative" . . . "For years, Bismarck has placed the statute book at the service of individuals and classes to forward their financial interests without consideration for others. What chance then for a policy of equal rights and a free path for all honourable activities? Such a policy can promise nothing, for it cannot deal in manipulations, pressure and influence".

... "My eyes only see a gigantic, consummately organised mill, whose waters everlastingly suck in new sacrifices born of the sweat of the people. Nowhere do I see good will or feeling for others, but much ostentation and pomp" ... "Power, not right, is the order of the day, every ideal is despised; but the country prospers"

... "Bismarck has made Germany great and Germans small" This last sentence sums up a historical and spiritual process which had a universal impact

The power of Bismarck made impossible that liberalisation of German society which men of von Bunsen's kind cherished as their ideal, for Bismarckism strengthened the latent illiberal tendencies in certain social spheres. Von Bunsen's unavailing attempts, for example, to create the German equivalent of the English JP have to be viewed in the context of a society in which every bourgeois, not engaged in commerce or the arts, had to pass an examination set by the State. This meant that judges, doctors, engineers, teachers, lecturers and so forth, all were graded according to state-sanctioned rank, with titles and decorations. The tendency to servility and backscratching was universal. No such self-sustaining institutions as the Royal College of Physicians or the Inns of Court were possible. In Bismarck's Germany, those who talked of self-reliant citizenship had the dice weighted against them from the start.

To what extent were the Liberals of the middle and late nineteenth century in Germany the agents of this downfall of Liberal values? The full history of the National Liberal and Progressive Parties in the 1860's and 1870's has yet to be written, and only a brief sketch can be made here of the main features of that history. But it is certain that the full chronicle of this period will substantiate the contention that the spiritual corrosion of the German people can be traced back to the defects of a Liberalism which was seduced from its principles by the alluring goal of a united and powerful Germany.

The failure of German Liberalism was not the result of lack of power for legislative reforms, still less was it a failure of intelligence or ability amongst its proponents. In regard to achievements and ability, the Liberal movement in Germany had much to its credit.

A convenient point of departure for our study of von Bunsen and his colleagues in the Bismarck era is the Corn Bill of 1879. Liberalism at this time is represented by National Liberal and Progressive deputies, a division in the Liberal ranks which corresponds roughly to that between Whigs and Radicals in English political terms. The Tariff campaign marked the Iron Chancellor's break with such of his National Liberal allies as were sufficiently staunch in their Liberalism to prefer the economics of Cobden to the autarkism of Bismarck. To carry his Tariff policy, Bismarck dropped all anti-clerical legislation, in order to rally the Catholic Centre Party behind him. As he had used Liberal fears of clericalism to bolster up his *Kulturkampf* against Rome, with the final aim of creating a supreme and absolute state authority, so now Bismarck made use of Catholic support in his efforts to extend state authoritarianism into economic affairs. Yesterday's "national enemy" had been Rome; now it was Liberalism.

Let us take a "flash-back" look at these National Liberals and Progressives during an adjournment of one of the Corn Law debates in the Reichstag. Under the light of the gas lamps flaring along the length of panelled walls ornamented with medallions of Stein, Fichte, Arndt, Dahlmann, Uhland and Schiller, the bearded deputies (sartorially less impressive than their contemporaries in the House of Commons), argue in groups or pace the carpet in anxious and vehement conversations. Among these Liberals faced with the crowning political crisis of their lives may be found Mommsen, with long white locks and great domed forehead, the man who has revolutionised the study of Roman history, Virchow, the Progressive leader in the Prussian Landtag and one of Europe's most famed physiologists, with his mordant eyes and lips seething with the power of his swift-moving mind; Schulze-Delitsch, the founder of Germany's Co-operative Societies, gigantic and

white-bearded, looking like an incarnation of Michelangelo's Moses, Bamberger, a cultured, good-humoured worldling, the lean cosmopolitan banker and creator of the German Empire's currency system, and Lasker, the ugly, scruffy little lawyer, clumsily standing with his hands in his pockets, meditating a rejoinder to some personal attack—a man of courage and honesty, unselfish and austere, but lacking the tact and *agréments* needed in a leader of men.

Mingling with these outstanding figures are men who have taken part in parliamentary assemblies dispersed by the bayonet, men compelled to flee to England, France and Switzerland, returning only after the amnesty of 1861, men whose grave faces bear witness to the passing of many youthful visions, and to uneasiness at the growing menace to civil rights in the country for whose liberty they had fought. As we see them at this crisis of Liberalism, they do not appear cheerful or confident. More than one of them is probably filled with wistful envy of friends now prospering in England and America.

It is the future which makes them uneasy and apprehensive. For the past, they can feel some pride in the great, if spasmodic, achievements of German Liberalism, from March, 1848, to the 'seventies. It was to Liberals that the country owed the abolition of Censorship and secret trials, the suppression of the tyrannical medieval guilds, the quashing of ancient edicts forbidding the artisan to live where he pleased or to marry without a financial qualification. Thanks to Liberal efforts, state and city passports had been swept away, and the right to strike had been legalised. These men had played their part in a generation of momentous reforms. But what of the future?

German Liberalism at this time was actuated by two ideas which were bound, under the existing conditions in Germany, to conflict: the idea of unity and the idea of liberty. The idea of liberty postulated that there must be limits to the power of the State, the whole tendency of the reforms referred to above was to emphasise the rights of the individual citizen against the claims of authority. On the other hand, the idea of unity, in the terms which most Germans, including most Liberals, came to understand it after the middle years of the nineteenth century, demanded an emphasis on a State-power so strong that it could not be impeded by obstreperous minorities.

It was in the cause of a powerful, united Germany that the majority of Liberals acquiesced in the seizure of Northern Schleswig from Denmark and in the forcible transformation of Alsatians into Germans, despite the most obvious evidence that they preferred to be Frenchmen. On annexation in 1871, 100,000 Alsatians "voted with their feet" by decamping to France, not one pro-German deputy was elected from Alsace. Yet only one Liberal deputy, Dr. Johann Jacoby, opposed the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, he ended his career as a Social Democrat. The Poles, whom an earlier Liberal generation had regarded as "Freedom's martyrs", became to most Germans, Liberals included, an unassimilatable nuisance. Platen's *Polen Lieder* and Mosen's *Die Letzten Zehn* found few sympathetic readers amongst the German Liberals after the 'seventies.

Moreover, the tradition of the fight against "black tyranny", upheld with such noble vigour by reformers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was under the skilful manipulations of Bismarck made to justify Liberal support for a code of persecuting edicts, designed to transform the Catholic priest into a subservient Prussian civil official. Laws which resulted in the man-handling of arrested bishops and the investing of churches by the military, were applauded by the National Liberals, of whom Lasker alone was roused by conscience to protest against the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany.

The political movement which had fought for and achieved the right of working men to strike found itself putty in the hand of Bismarck and the German Right when the campaign was mounted to suppress Socialism in the Empire. The Progressive Party fought against the anti-Socialist legislation to the end. But the

National Liberals, after contributing to the defeat of the First and Second Anti-Socialist Laws, which sought to prohibit Socialist meetings and the printing of Socialist newspapers, betrayed their principles and voted for the Third Anti-Socialist Law in 1878. Their previous opposition had lost them seats in two general elections, their parliamentary position was becoming harder to maintain, they sought refuge by denying the principles of freedom of speech and association which they had struggled to implant in German political life.

Hence, when the struggle with Bismarck came over the Corn Bill and the policy for reverting to strict protectionism, the Liberals, men like von Bunsen, Lasker and Bamberger, were on slippery ground when they denounced the enthronement of naked self-interest against the principle of fairness to all men. They had themselves helped to destroy this principle in the pursuit of a powerful and united State. The election following the Corn Bill crisis, in which the National Liberal Party split, resulted in the return of sixty Progressives, fifty National Liberals and fifty members of the National Liberal Secession. The Progressives and the Secessionists eventually united in 1885 as the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*. The alliance between Bismarck, the Catholic Centre Party and the National Liberal right-wing over protection guaranteed, for as long as the first Reich lasted, the defeat of genuine Liberalism in Germany.

Writing to his family at home during a visit to Holstein, von Bunsen noted that the moral character of the Holsteiners had been contaminated by the Prussian annexation. The seizure of the province had been made in open defiance of the Prussian Government's previous acknowledgment of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. Seeing unscrupulousness triumphant, the annexed people themselves tended to become unscrupulous. This comment is notable, coming from a prominent member of the Liberal Party whose members, by counter-signing every annexation made in the name of national unity, had helped to promote that very spirit of ruthless grab and legalised banditry which made them despair of their country.

By the 1890's, German Liberals had completely lost the spirit of creative, reformist vitality which had animated them a generation before. They had nothing of that revolutionary fervour which in March, 1848, had led the citizens of Berlin to defy 40,000 soldiers, wrench a constitution from a terrified king, and compel him, with bared head, to salute their dead. Theodor Barth, surveying the plight of Liberalism in *Cosmopolis* in 1896, notes the increase year by year of the Socialist vote, which is, he asserts, not a vote for Socialism as such but a vote of protest against the *status quo*. Thirty years before, the opposition to Junkerthum had been Liberal; by the end of the century German Liberalism had lost its *raison d'être*.

When von Bunsen wrote to Mount Stuart Grant Duff to explain why he had resigned from the Reichstag, his letter contained a strong complaint against the inactivity of his fellow Liberals. Despite fulsome oratory in the Reichstag, there was no seizing of the initiative, no determination to expound their essential ideas to the people, reverse or no reverse. Consequently there developed a popular belief that the Liberals had no policy to offer the nation. This letter, and Theodor Barth's article, deploring Liberalism's decay at a time when its sanity and moderation were vital for the country, mirror an age of Liberal depression.

Yet those who had tried to dragoon Catholics and annexed peoples had no right to complain when their speeches against Protection as destructive of self-reliant citizenship fell on deaf ears. Nor are sanity and moderation worth much as political virtues when devoid of the dynamism of principles felt deeply enough to convert the apathetic.

The late Friedrich Meineke, in an article in *Der Monat*, maintained that it was the duty of Germans to treasure all that was praiseworthy in their past history whilst taking note of erroneous paths leading to the abyss. In the same way, in examining the characters of distinguished German Liberals of the Bismarckzeit,

we can see both what was valuable and what wrong in their Liberalism. We can admire von Bunsen as the man who, although the son of an Ambassador, courageously endured a social boycott which grew more and more intensive, until even the Empress Augusta and her son, the Crown Prince, dared not be seen openly conversing with him. But we cannot admire von Bunsen, the man whose clever letters to his English and American friends, justifying the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, so deftly made the worse appear the better cause.

This fatal nationalist flaw affects our appreciation of many of von Bunsen's colleagues. Mommsen in his *Roman History* proclaimed the superiority of the most inefficient constitutional state to the most splendid despotism, he chastised anti-semites with thunderous invective, and did not hesitate to risk imprisonment by calling Bismarck's conversion to protection *politick des Schwindel*. But he was also responsible for outbursts of the most fatuous chauvinism, and his disdain for Czechs and Poles went so far as to regard them as "lesser breeds without the law."

Nothing can be more praiseworthy than Eduard Lasker's utter simplicity of life. He preferred to live on a small funded income in order to devote himself to public affairs rather than reap a fortune by giving his time and talents to the bar. He showed enormous courage and tenacity when, in 1873, he successfully struck out at criminals in high places by exposing an appalling railway swindle, involving two prominent members of the Junkerthum. For a week, he was the most hated and the most popular man in Germany. On the other hand, there is something ignoble in Lasker the temporising politician, the man who told the National Liberals that it was their duty to pass a sponge over the past of Prince Bismarck; who, rather than see his party continue to lose seats, voted for a bill to suppress opinions by force.

It can, of course, be argued in his defence that most of his electoral following regarded the early Marxists (how different from the sleek and smiling supporters of Herr Brandt!) as maniacal destructives whom the caricaturists of the *Berlin Figaro* portrayed as brandishing a bomb in one hand and clutching a bottle of petroleum in the other. Nor can it be denied that he tempered the defeat of civil liberty by forcing through an amendment to the Anti-Socialist Law which made it renewable instead of permanent.

Nevertheless, we must include Lasker with von Bunsen and the rest of the leadership of German Liberalism in the indictment. A Liberalism of limited liability allowed itself to be distorted by alien influences and failed in its supreme task of guiding a gifted and energetic nation from erroneous paths leading to the abyss. Ludwig Bamberger, who knew *Deutschland Uber Alles* as a Liberal campaign-song, a song of enfranchisement and national freedom, was to live long enough to hear it chanted as the Marseillaise of corrupted nationalism and anti-semitism.

DR. HU SHIH

LANCELOT FORSTER

Professor Emeritus, University of Hong Kong

DR. Kenneth Saunders has written a book on Gandhi, Kagawa, and Hu Shih, each of whom he considered to be the leading intellectual, political, and spiritual force of his respective country, India, Japan, and China

Each was a true product of the soil and social environment and therefore truly representative of his nation's creed, and none more so than Dr Hu Shih. Gandhi was spiritual, mystical, and ascetic. Kagawa was a Christian Socialist busying himself with co-operatives and denying himself peace, rest, and material comfort in order to achieve his end. Hu Shih was primarily an intellectual with a high degree of moral courage, fearless in the expression of his views, and of a lovable disposition.

He had much of the Greek spirit which sees life clearly and sees it whole, and is just as likely to offend by his frankness as he is likely to give pleasure, for he was first and foremost a critic and a very rational one. He saw the full flowering of Western philosophy in America, where the mysticism and abstractions of German thought yield to the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey. It was in America that he acquired his vigour of thought and contrasted what might be in China with what was. After his return he never rested in his battle against the evils that enmeshed his country and which thwarted the best endeavours of his people to advance. In America he discarded the backward view and adopted the forward one, placing the golden age in the future and not in the mythical age of Yao and Shun. Here he saw that a minimum degree of material welfare was essential to the life of thought, and therefore he whole-heartedly embraced the teaching and the benefits of scientific study. He contrasted the optimism and alertness of America with the stagnation and resignation of the East, and it was this new spirit which he brought to China. There was nothing placid nor resigned about him, he embodied the spirit of youth and hope, and in spite of the tremendous forces arrayed against him, within his own country and without, he marched fearlessly forward.

He was in reaction against the futilities of the classical system of China, and sought to bring it back into relation with common every-day life, from which it had got so far divorced.

He was a classical scholar and enjoyed the respect of the old Hanlins or Doctors of Chinese literature of the old regime, but he was in a superior position to them, for he had also studied the Western system of philosophy. While he would concede a place to the old tradition of learning he would not grant it that position of importance and domination which it had claimed for itself in the past. He valued very highly the magnificent products of Chinese genius in past ages—the bronzes, ceramics, works in jade and cloissoné, the calligraphist's art, and the delicately painted pictures—but modern China had to be something more than a museum or a repository of past glories. It had to align itself with the West and not be isolated from it, for the primary function of every community is to exist independently and not be dictated to by alien invaders.

She must be free to develop he felt. It was because China had clung so tenaciously to her past, and become Narcissus-like in self-admiration, that she failed to foresee the dangers which threatened her.

The greatest disaster China suffered in the last three centuries was the failure of the Revolution of 1898, and the resurgence of the Empress Dowager. Had the forces of reaction not been triumphant, China would have escaped the penalties which were inflicted for the Boxer excesses, and the reorientation of thought would have taken place thirteen years earlier, but China was fated to be shackled.

to the old forms for nearly two decades more, because a vigorous, ruthless, and stupid woman was in control.

Hu Shih was not opposed to the classical system which embodies the best thought of ancient China, but he thought that system of learning was wholly inadequate to modern needs. You cannot, he said, express new and living thought in a dead language, however beautiful it might be. The old language was refined to such a point that it had ceased to be intelligible except to those who dedicated the whole of life to its study. It was and is no longer a servant of thought, but the master. As Hu Shih said, if a classical scholar read out his essay to a group of other classical scholars not one would understand what it was about. Each would have to wait till the essay was in his hands before he could puzzle out its meaning, and even then there would be considerable differences in interpretation. Not till the age of twelve or thirteen did an industrious child begin to get a glimmering of the meaning which the classical writers wished to convey. In such circumstances learning could never be accessible to the many, but always the privilege of the few. It was precisely the same in Europe in the Middle Ages when Latin was the vehicle of thought and when the common people of the different nations of Europe demanded the use of the vernacular as the medium of expression. No one will deny that Europe was revitalized by such a movement as that which gave England Chaucer, the Authorized Version of the Bible, and Shakespeare. Hu Shih aimed at the same goal when he initiated the Literary Renaissance of China and substituted the spoken language-Kuo Yu or Pei Wa-for the classical. He edited new journals and wrote books in the common language. He vowed never to produce a poem, story, or serious article in any other form, and soon he brought the country over to his point of view, and thus opened the world of thought to the myriads of Chinese to whom it had been formerly a closed book. Fortunately for China, however, the study of the new forms did not close the door to the ancient writings, for the difference between the classical writings of China and the modern is not so great as between some of the national languages of Europe and Latin. The relationship would probably be that between Italian and Latin, the one leading up to an understanding of the other. So it is in China, where the study of the ancient classics did not diminish when the new forms were introduced, but, on the contrary, increased.

This was Hu Shih's greatest achievement.

Such, then, was his attitude towards Chinese Classical learning. What were his views on other social questions? When I suggested that one of the fundamental causes of China's lack of unity of purpose was due to the absence of religion and to the complete indifference which the average Chinese scholar displayed towards spiritual matters, he agreed that such was the case, but asserted that this sceptical and agnostic spirit was ingrained in the Chinese character and that both Confucius and Lao Tzu merely recorded what every Chinese student unconsciously felt.

From such lack of religious conviction comes that easy tolerance, and mutual respect, which is so strong a feature of China's social life. It was because Bertrand Russell was moulded to this pattern that he found such a ready response in China, where he once exerted an influence far beyond that which he wielded in England where the opposite standpoint is so strongly emphasized.

It was Bertrand Russell, he said, who stated that seamen were the most religious of people, but that as the size of the boat increased so their religious fervour diminished, in other words, religion was merely an anodyne for pain and suffering or a prophylactic against danger.

He said it was of little help and no value when it appealed on the basis of personal profit, or when it was embraced, as it was by so many, in the belief that its adherents would be extricated from grave difficulties, or that by some magical power they would be provided with the necessary aid to solve their problems.

This was certainly rather a crude presentation of Christianity, but it certainly

was true as a description of much of that religion as preached in China in the past.

Of all doctrines, he admitted, Christianity certainly had more to its credit as a healing force for humanity than any other. Its achievements in the social life were immense, and furthermore, it was closely related to the life of the community, it was not something remote and practised by a professional priesthood which exploited the ignorance and superstitious fears of the common people. Why then, believing all this, had he not accepted and practised it? His answer was that he very nearly did become a Christian when he was a student in College in America. In a summer camp near Philadelphia he sat with several other Chinese students who were favourably disposed towards what to them was a new doctrine, in the glow of a log fire after sunset, when all was peaceful over the wide, open country that stretched beyond them, listening to the sad life story of one of Dr Mott's followers. This youth had been sent to College where, instead of making any advance in his academic course, he pursued other and much less desirable interests, which he recorded with considerable wealth of detail. As the son of a very rich father, he was in a position to indulge his baser passions and embark upon those courses which every prodigal son pursues, but unlike *the* prodigal son, instead of returning in penitence, to the bosom of his family after being expelled from his College for his bad conduct, he made his way to the Hudson River, into which he plunged with a view to terminating what, he now realized, had been a selfish, debauched, and useless life. However, he was not destined to achieve oblivion for he was rescued by a member of a Christian mission, which had its headquarters alongside, and here he was kindly received and prevailed upon to change his mode of life entirely.

He thus became a powerful and persuasive advocate of the Christian faith, and from his past and present experience he was able to appeal with conviction to the hearts of others.

Hu Shih listened, was profoundly moved, pondered over the question and proceeded to study more deeply the New Testament, and finally decided he would embrace the Christian faith, for if it could produce such a marked effect upon one student it could not fail to register a similar effect upon another. He waited for a few weeks and when the same person came to speak in the Great Hall of his College he advised all his friends to go with him to hear his address, and they went, but when Hu Shih heard exactly the same story told with the same histrionic effects, he was no longer moved. He could not follow out his original intention, and so he remains to the last an agnostic. Yet he admits the powerful influence which the unseen world exercised over many of those who he thought might be considered superior to, or at least unmoved by it.

In China even scholars of the highest possible standing will assist the necromancer in getting the true orientation for the direction of the grave, while others will repeat the phrase *O mam put ma hum* thousands of times to ensure a safe journey through life, and a peaceful rest after death.

When I mentioned the revival of Buddhism in China, Hu Shih said that such improvement as one noted occurred near the cities where a rich merchant might be induced to give large donations to ensure continued prosperity and continuance of life, but certainly not in the villages or inland places where so many of the Buddhist and Taoist temples were neglected, dilapidated, and, for the most part, deserted. This was true, as everyone knows who has travelled over the various provinces of China. In Hong Kong, one does find a modern Buddhist temple constructed and maintained by one prominent millionaire, but certainly not by any mites collected from widows, or other ordinary people.

When Hu Shih was questioned further about Christianity and its progress in China, he was not at all reassuring. While admitting that Christ came from the common people and that His teaching was inspiring and noble, he could not agree that intellectual China was moving in that direction. When I quoted the saying,

attributed to the Roman Catholics, that it takes three generations to make a Christian, he countered it by saying that, in his experience, it took precisely three generations to unmake one. Christian work is usually in the villages among the peasants who, in some cases, do become converted and baptized, and through the mission school a son may learn the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, in addition to the scriptures. This training puts him far above his fellows, and if he goes into business, as every Chinese aims at doing, he has a great advantage over his competitors, and is likely to become comparatively well off, with the result that even a higher form of education becomes possible for his son who, perhaps as a Christian pastor though poorly paid, is often able to secure the benefits of a University education for his family, and that, asserted Hu Shih, was fatal to all Christian hopes, for there the real Chinese spirit was all-pervading—scepticism or at best a benevolent neutrality towards religion, for the tradition of higher education in China is not concerned with theological questions. It would be rather like introducing engineering as the *chief* subject of study into the sacred precincts of Oxford. It is true that there are several important universities in China such as St John's in Shanghai, Yenching near Peiping, the West China Union University in Szechuan, and Lingnam near Canton, where Christian teaching does prevail as an integral part of the University course, but now the subject is not permitted to interfere or form part of the college curriculum, though it is not forbidden as an additional subject that might be pursued voluntarily outside the recognized studies. The spirit that prompted these new regulations is the real sceptical and agnostic spirit of China. Hu Shih quoted several cases of families which bore out his theory and Lin Yu-tang who recently produced an excellent book on *China, My Country and My People*, states, in the course of it, that he was a Christian and is now a pagan. His father was a Presbyterian pastor, and he was therefore brought up in a Christian home.

Hu Shih was not, by any means, antagonistic to the Christian religion, but he felt that if the Chinese are going to remain true to type, their mentality is such that religion must remain outside and cannot become a serious subject of study, for it is not immediately concerned with that which concerns ancient, as well as modern China, namely—food, drink, clothing, poetry, painting, and perhaps the rules that govern human behaviour.

It was not only in religious matters, he said, that the scholars of China, in the past had neglected to give a lead whereby the practice of religion had been driven underground, it was equally true that other fields of study had been gravely neglected. Biography as understood in the West, did not exist in China, and there was no attempt to present a life-size portrait of a great man to be a model and an inspiration to succeeding generations. How much does England owe to Southey's Nelson, to Boswell's Johnson, to Forster's Dickens, to Morley's Gladstone? Such men become part of a great tradition and are incorporated into the life of the nation which moulds its thought and shapes its conduct in accordance with their standards, but China has no such models, because her literary people did not use their gifts in this direction. All she possesses, said Hu Shih, is the bare record of great men who lived and died, mere bones without the flesh and blood that give vitality to literature.

So it was in folk lore—the scholars neglected the novel, the drama, and musical composition, for they busied themselves in a sterile philosophy and became more concerned with the form of literary expression than with the content. Instead of an increment of master-pieces from generation to generation in these fields of culture, there had been stagnation and a contemptuous disregard of the vital needs of the community, which had to rely on the old traditional plays handed down orally from past generations, and performed by actors who were despised and classed with prostitutes, gaol-birds, and slaves. When Lu Sin, one of China's foremost writers was in Japan studying medicine, he saw some of his own people

In politics, Hu Shih was a fearless critic, and an opponent of those who seek to crush out opposition by mere brute force. He realized that a strong opposition was as necessary to sound government as the government itself. He was reared in the school of liberty and therefore was opposed to dictatorships of any sort, for they are destructive of creative thought.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THE NEW HISTORY OF 1870-1898

The New Cambridge Modern History Vol XI, Material Progress and World-Wide Problems 1870-1898 Cambridge University Press 40s

This is the last of the quite modern volumes in the series, fitting in conveniently, as it deals with a period of comparative though precarious peace, between Vol X (*The Zenith of European Power*) and Vol XI (*The Era of Violence*). It is, therefore, interesting to put it side by side with the corresponding volume in the old series (*The Latest Age*) which, its editors claimed with cautious reservations, gained some value from being written by contemporaries of the events they were recording. On the other hand, they went on to say, they were faced with a serious obstacle inasmuch as "hardly a beginning has been made in the sorting, sifting, arranging and summarising of the bewildering mass of accessible knowledge." As a result of more than fifty years of historical research this difficulty has been greatly diminished for their successors who, while making allowance for their inevitable hindsight, are also able to achieve greater objectivity of view to compensate for the loss of vivid recollections and, sometimes, intimate personal knowledge enjoyed by their predecessors.

The volume starts with a long and stimulating Introduction by the Editor, Mr. Hinsley of St John's College, which is in itself a very comprehensive survey besides signposting, as it were, aspects which are developed more fully in the subsequent chapters. Certain topics are then dealt with in a general and comparative way with, as is natural, far more emphasis than in the earlier volume on economic conditions, population changes, and technological developments and their effects, less revolutionary than might have been expected, on social and political thought and action. Other valuable chapters deal with Armed Forces, Education and Literature—this last, very good especially about Continental writers, but is it fair to say of Henley that he is "barely remembered" when two of his poems appear in almost every anthology? A chapter on Art and Architecture is to be welcomed, especially as it is by Professor Pevsner, his pages on Art Nouveau are particularly interesting and the only obvious omission is that Burne-Jones, favourite artist of late Victorian days, does not get the "appreciation" which Prof Pevsner himself seemed to have promised in his chapter in Vol X. The "Historical Science" of the earlier volumes is neither replaced nor, as perhaps it might have been, brought up-to-date by Dr Gooch (the only survivor, I imagine, of the earlier team of contributors). There are, it is true, a few references here and there to historians, mainly as they were concerned with social and political theory, but in a full-scale historical work it might have been expected that the historical writing of the period would have figured prominently, British readers, for instance, would have welcomed a modern assessment of such men as Stubbs, Creighton, Cunningham, Maitland and, indeed, Acton himself. The religious aspects of the period also tend to come in somewhat briefly and incidentally, and mainly for Church-State relations. It is, of course, interesting to note the advent of the Salvation Army and of Christian Science but it would have been no less interesting, to take only one example, to have been given fuller information as to how "the ideas of the new science" were absorbed into the theology of Protestantism. And although mention is made of the famous Encyclicals "*Nobilissima Gens Gallorum*" and "*Rerum Novarum*" there is no reference to Catholic Modernism (although five of Loisy's books came out in the early 1890s), while Newman appears only for his views on University Education and Manning only for his sympathy with the Dock Strike. In spite of excellent chapters in Vol X and Vol XII there seems to me to be a bit of a gap here.

In the part of the book dealing with individual States and areas the balance is somewhat altered from that of the volume in the earlier series. Russia, India, China, Japan and Latin America re-appear, and, of course, in an up-to-date form. But Austria-Hungary no longer has a chapter of its own, having now to share with Turkey and the Balkans, while Great Britain (and Ireland) and the British Empire are lumped together in one rather short though effective chapter, and Belgium, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries appear only incidentally, in the more general part of the book. On the other hand, the USA now gets two chapters (it is not, as in the earlier series, going to have a separate volume), and there are two on the European colonies, one "the Expansion in the Pacific and the scramble for China", the other "the Partition of Africa". This latter is one of the best chapters in the book but when the authors (for there are two of them) say that the Jameson Raid "implicated the imperial authorities" it is a pity that they do not amplify this by giving us their opinion on the vexed, and still unsettled, question of whether Chamberlain himself was involved. The remarkable prophecy made by Lord Salisbury just before the South African war is likely to be new even to British readers. In the key chapter on International Relations the continuing strains and stresses of the period are brought out very clearly, leading up to the circumstances which, as the author says, "ended the deadlock which had given Europe a place of unparalleled duration".

The standard of writing and scholarship, if it is not impertinent to say it, is always good and sometimes brilliant, with a team of contributors drawn from no fewer than twelve Universities among which it is pleasant to note the young University of Sussex. If a Briton deals with the United States it is an American who writes about Britain and it would have been interesting if a similar interchange had taken place between the writers on France and Germany. The volume is, of course, well produced and, for these days, moderately priced but I have noticed two mistakes. The lady who was to become the famous wife of a famous Master of Trinity was Miss Ramsay, not Ramsey (a bad slip this in a Cambridge book), and it is curious mathematics which makes 1893 "eight years earlier" than 1905 (p. 216). It is, I hope, not too trivial to refer appreciatively to some of the intriguing pieces of information scattered throughout the book, all of which, however, have a real significance when seen in their context. How many readers could say off-hand what was "Seward's ice-box"; how many times H. G. Wells went into a laboratory in the course of getting his B.Sc., which Emperor had a wife whose main role was to spy on behalf of her aunt, and which Sultan did not dare leave his palace grounds save to go once a week to an adjacent mosque?

Finally, a comment on the policy of excluding Bibliographies. In his General Introduction to Vol. I, Sir George Clark drew attention to the excessive length of those in the original series and to the number now available elsewhere. But the general, non-specialist reader may not always know which are the best or even where they are to be found and would be helped by *short* references to them at the end of each volume. Similarly, I am not convinced about the policy of, in general, doing without footnotes, these can be very useful so long as there are not too many of them and the three chapters in this volume which give them seem to me to gain considerably thereby.

F. R. SALTER

THE NEHRUS

The Nehrus, Motilal and Jawaharlal Allen and Unwin. 30s (U.K. only)

This is a fascinating book, particularly in the free use it makes of personal letters between father and son, dating from the early days of Jawaharlal's upbringing at Harrow and Cambridge all through the time when, after his return to India, politics became the dominant interest of both. The family letters made available by Jawaharlal provide an altogether delightful picture of the relations between

father and son, both having so much in common and both so different in temperament and outlook

When for the first time he left his son in England, Motilal frequently expressed his great anxiety for the boy's welfare, writing that for everything that concerned him he should not look on him as his father but as his dearest friend who would do anything to make him happy. From this he never swerved, and all who knew him recognised that to a quite exceptional degree the strongest influence in his life was his love for his son. In the last sentence of the book, the author records an observation attributed to Mahatma Gandhi, who when asked to describe Motilal's greatest quality replied, "Love of his son". When asked, "Was it not of India?" he replied "No, Motilal's love of India was derived from his love for Jawaharlal".

By reason of his position, much more is known generally of Jawaharlal than of his father. This book helps to redress the balance. Before politics intervened, Motilal seemed to have everything he could want, a successful practice at the Bar, a fabulous income, hosts of friends, British and Indian, and a reputation for generous hospitality. On all these he turned his back, and the volume tells the story of his transition through the various stages of the Indian freedom movement from confirmed loyalist to self-confessed rebel, sometimes in company with his son, sometimes differing from him, but both always in close touch with each other. In the care with which it has been written, this book forms a fitting tribute to the memory of Motilal Nehru, both as father of Jawaharlal and as an Indian gentleman of the highest quality who served his country to the best of his ability, without thought for himself.

HAWTHORNE LEWIS

NAPOLEON AND HIS BRITISH CAPTIVES

British Captives Michael Lewis Allen & Unwin. 42s.

No living scholar knows so much about the history of the British Navy as Mr. Michael Lewis, formerly Professor at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. His latest work is not only a contribution to history but a gallery of portraits of brave men in adversity. The author has explored French no less than British archives, and scores of pages are devoted to individual cases about whom details are available. He wins the reader's confidence from the start by his thoroughness and his careful classification of the different types of prisoners. There was a sharp distinction between the services and the civilians. Fighting men had always been taken and held as prisoners of war and one of Napoleon's regrettable innovations was the addition of civilians to the list.

The narrative opens with a chapter on civilian prisoners, who were described as *Detenus* (Detainees). The war which began in 1793 was resumed after a short break in 1803 when many Englishmen were settled and travelling in France, believing that the long struggle was over. We had now to reckon with Napoleon who proclaimed himself Emperor a year later, and after sensational victories in Italy and Spain, Germany and Austria, he found himself master of Europe. Forseeing a lengthy struggle, he ordered the detention of all British males in France between 16 and 64.

How were they treated? As we should expect, it varied from place to place with the mentality of the Commandant. In most cases, declares the author, there were only minor hardships and the system of *Parole D'Honneur* was fairly general. Occasionally the promise was broken and the detainee escaped or tried to escape. If caught his privileges were restricted. The luckiest detainees were those who were permitted to select their place of residence. The chief centre was Verdun, though most of the detainees were sent on to other towns. Some were received into French society and were allowed to do whatever they liked except run away. Very few French civilians were living or travelling in England, so no comparison of their treatment is possible.

Far more important, of course, among Napoleon's captives were members of the Services whose large numbers often created housing difficulties. And what of the treatment in the two countries? Though the author's theme is Napoleon's captives, he tells us just enough to allow of a comparison. His verdict, as might be expected, is that it differed from place to place. In both countries we hear of brutalities but the general standard was fairly high. The officers had the best of it, for the French, with their strong feudal traditions, always recognised a sharp division between officers, who were assumed to be gentlefolk, and rank and file. Here again as with the detainees, much depended on the local atmosphere. Some officers were invited to share in the social life of the city, for there seems to have been very little natural hatred on either side. A third category of prisoners was that of the Merchant Navy, half way between the Services and the civilians.

When the tide of war turned with the French retreat from Russia in 1812 and the decisive defeat at Leipzig in 1813, the British captives were moved from the exposed eastern frontier to towns in the interior of France. During these migrations some seized the opportunity to escape, and the rest were exchanged. After the first occupation of Paris by the Allies in 1814 and again after Waterloo in 1815, a few Englishmen had struck such deep roots abroad or had lost all ties at home that they continued to live in France and gave no trouble to the restored monarchy. Happily there have been no Anglo-French wars and, therefore, no prisoners of war since Waterloo, though we were rather close to the edge of the precipice in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Today war between France and England is as unthinkable as between ourselves and the USA. British scholars have contributed scarcely less to the exploration of the Napoleonic era as their French contemporaries. *Toujours Lui, Lui Partout*, sang Victor Hugo a century ago, and it is as true today as ever. We can never learn too much about the Corsican ogre. G. P. GOOCH

ON CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING

Soundings, Essays Concerning Christian Understanding. Edited by A. R. Vidler. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

It is easy to commend, but not to appraise, this volume in a few short sentences. There is in Cambridge at the present time a very remarkable group of theological dons who having met together for many long discussions have now issued a series of essays in which they have set forth with commendable clarity, with penetrating insight and with remarkable courage their views upon the plight or prospects of theology today. They write in a style so modest, claiming, correctly, to offer no more than *prolegomena*, that they deserve to escape the storm such a volume might have aroused had they assumed the old pamphleteering mode of speech. But their thought is revolutionary, they are well aware that a radical change must be made in the presentation of the Christian faith and the structure of the Christian Church if Christianity is to be more than a pale ghost in the modern world. No reader will be expected to agree with all they say, indeed, their group is homogeneous in temper rather than in thought, but every educated man concerned with these high matters will read these papers with the liveliest interest and not, I am sure, without some illumination of his mind and quickening of his spirit.

As a personal choice I should be disposed to elect as most significant Professor Smart on *The Relation between Christianity and the other great Religions*, Professor Lampe on *The Atonement: Law and Love* and Professor Vidler on *Religion and the National Church*, the first because it is of paramount importance today that we see Christianity in its setting within the story of religion as a whole, the second because it is a free and unqualified statement of the Gospel, and the third because the author is quite fearless in facing the question whether we have not gone altogether astray in our thinking about the Church.

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NATHANIEL MICKLEM

CENSORSHIP ON LITERATURE

The Banned Books of England Alec Craig Allen and Unwin 30s

Mr Craig's book follows close on the heels of David Loth's *The Erotic in Literature*, the cause of enlightenment is well served in 1962. For the message of the two books is the same, though the approach and the content differ—censorship is usually foolish, always dangerous. It is curious that Mr. Craig, who perhaps takes the more serious view of the dangers, accepts the practical need to regulate pornography, while Mr. Loth would abolish censorship entirely, and give pornography its head: it would, he thinks, be much healthier in the open than underground.

The Banned Books of England is a sober record of the evolution of the law in this country, with cross-reference to the United States, home of the immortal Comstock, and briefer accounts of the attitudes of other western countries and the countries of the Commonwealth: it is particularly interesting to learn just how far from the truth is the idea that France has always been free of Comstockery. But the hard core of the book is the law of England, and an odd record it makes, narrowing down from precedent to precedent, judge after judge haranguing prisoners and juries with the peculiarly unpleasant note of hysteria that the Comstock approach generates.

Mr. Craig goes into some detail on the Obscene Publications Act, 1959, reminding us that, while it represented a bold legislative step, it has not taken the law much further than Mr. Justice Stable left it in his memorable judgment in *The Philanderer* case in 1954. *The Lady Chatterley* case is also treated at some length, and the point is made that, notwithstanding the jury's verdict, the way in which the 1959 Act operated was not encouraging.

It is interesting to note, in this book as in Mr. Loth's, the changing attitudes of mankind towards sex, in 1573 a censored *Decameron* changed all the monks and nuns into laymen but left the sex unaltered, and as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century there was no law in England that could deal with pornography as such. Then repression set in, and the intermingling of attitudes—repression of radical thought, "protection" of the working classes, distrust of intellectuals, inability to distinguish Mrs. Warren from Fanny Hill—fill out a sad muddled commentary on the text that we are all crazy mixed up children of a larger growth.

Is it important? Mr. Craig offers his pretty convincing "Yes" in his chapter "Obscenity and Freedom".

P. E. SMART

WORK AND RETIREMENT

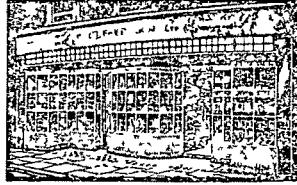
Arbitrary Retirement Nevil Tronchin-James. Cassell 21s

Continuing inflation, the industrialisation of other countries, sluggish production and other factors are making it difficult for Britain to export enough in manufactures to pay for essential imports of food and raw materials. In recent years production has been increasing only half as fast as on the continent, and our difficulties are likely to be all the greater in that the productive workers of this country are going to have to support an increasing number of old people.

Sixty years ago people over sixty-five only formed about 4.7% of the population, but in thirty years time no less than 16% of the population will be over 65. It is therefore odd that our pension arrangements should be such as to encourage most

WELCOME TO HARMONY. (Marlowe 12s. 6d.). This is a volume of political satire inspired by Mr Macmillan's recent reference to the House of Commons as "this great school" where the boys are "judged by . . . what sort of chaps they are". Writing in the pen name of Guy de Montford, the author purports to describe quite innocently the life of the highbrow "educational" establishment, Harmony Hall, which is in deadly enmity with Loggerheads Lodge, where the despicable "oiks" are taught to become gentlemen. The story of Harmony Hall, with its fantastic method of harmony classes, promotion system and school conventions, is full of irony, humour and despair. The allusions to the running of the Tory Parliamentary Party are subtle but clear and often deadly in their satirical impact. Some of the Tory leaders are also clearly discernable among the masters and boys, although a full enjoyment of this aspect requires a close knowledge of the Parliamentary Party. A Tory M.P., Captain Henry Kerby, describes the volume as "brilliant a satire on Parliament as I have known".

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people to retire at 65 when many of them could usefully continue in some kind of work and would probably be happier working, at any rate some of the time, than in retirement.

In order to obtain a Retirement Pension under the National Insurance Act of 1946 it is necessary to retire from work, and the Earnings Rule states that people who have retired and are under 70 have 6d. deducted from their pension for every 1s. they earn over £3 a week, and 1s. deducted for every 1s. they earn over £4. As the Phillips Committee noted, Britain alone imposes arbitrary retirement by example and legislation, and since 1946 the pressure on people to retire at 65 has been very great.

At the same time people are living longer and the population is ageing and researches have shown that many people are happier if they continue in some kind of work and make a contribution to the needs of the community. Dr Tronchin-James has produced a comprehensive survey of the whole problem of retirement and, with a wide range of documentary evidence, makes a convincing case for changes designed to encourage people to work as long as they like and retire when they like. It is an important book on an urgent problem.

It may be administratively and actuarially convenient if most people can be persuaded to retire at 65, but it does not meet the needs either of the individual or of the community. It is sometimes said that if more people worked longer it could lead to unemployment or be a bar to promotion of younger people, but Dr Tronchin-James shows that such fears are groundless and puts the case for much greater flexibility in retirement suggesting that people over a certain age should become entitled to a pension on retirement and that this pension should be larger, as in France, the longer actual retirement is deferred.

PAUL DERRICK

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARGOT ASQUITH. (Eyre and Spottiswoode 30s) Mr Mark Bonham Carter is responsible for this abridged edition of the original two volumes of this remarkable book by the second wife of his grandfather, the Liberal Prime Minister, first published in 1920 and 1922. For forty years Margot had stimulated or shocked the highest political and social circles. With natural brilliance and a sharp and sparkling mind, she strode apart, ambitious, self-centred, unconventional, indiscreet, but with a remarkable capacity for friendship with the great Victorian public figures. "Vitality, courage and spontaneity" were, says Mr Bonham Carter, her "greatest qualities". Not surprisingly, her memoirs evoked a storm of protest. *The Times* condemned the book as "a scandal which cannot be justified or excused". But Winston Churchill's historical perspective in writing that the memoirs "might well find a place in the bibliography of the Victorian era" has been justified. They do provide a remarkable picture of the highly artificial high society before 1914, with its chronic boredom, irresponsible power and detachment from the mass of the nation. Mr Bonham Carter has abridged about one-third of the original text, largely omitting Margot's commentaries upon the political scene of which she "never became a good or perceptive judge". His Introduction includes a useful account of her family background and of her numerous Asquith step-children with whom she was on the closest and most affectionate terms.

THE HARRY GOLDEN OMNIBUS (Cassell 21s) Mr Harry Golden has acquired in the United States a considerable reputation for his shrewd commentaries and wit upon almost every aspect of American life and affairs. This volume now publishes for the first time in Great Britain a large selection of these short pieces, originally printed in the author's own journal, *The Caroline*

Israelite. Although the subjects of comment are usually set in America, they frequently have a wider impact, whether it be on social, ethical or political topics. For example, as a liberally minded thinker, he has some very pertinent things to say about race segregation and capital punishment. It is an extremely readable volume which will give great pleasure as well as food for thought.

LADY GREGORY, SELECTED PLAYS. (Putnam 25s) This is a praiseworthy effort to rescue from obscurity the dramatic works of the Irish playwright, Augusta Gregory, who has been better known as a co-founder and director of the Abbey Theatre. Now her biographer, Miss Elizabeth Coxhead, has selected and introduced nine plays including *The White Cockade* and *Grania*. The others are short pieces for which she is best known, including the poignant *The Gaol Gate*. In his Foreword, Mr Sean O'Casey pays tribute to Lady Gregory and her "first class literary work", and commends the volume as "a fine sprig of rosemary among the Yeatsian laurel". We do not wish, nor can we afford, to murmur farewell to thee for a long, long time to come."

PROBLEMS OF AN EDITOR. (Oxford University Press 25s) Sir Linton Andrews has written a book which will be invaluable to aspiring journalists and those seeking such a career for it deals in great detail with the practical problems of the work of newspaper editors. It also deals with some aspects of Press reform and the concern felt for the growth of power politics in the newspaper business. As a former Chairman of the Press Council and until his retirement in 1960 Sir Linton served on the *Leeds Mercury* and *Yorkshire Post*. His qualifications as a distinguished Editor for writing this valuable book must be unquestioned. The volume comes very appropriately so soon after the publication of the Royal Commission's Report on the Press.

Editor Deryck Abel

Consulting Editor. G. P. Gooch, CH, FBA, D Litt.

Contemporary Review

December 1962

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CHURCH AND CAMERA

GUTHRIE MOIR

THE Church of England, and for that matter every Christian Church, has to consider and reconsider from time to time the right degree of intimacy of the friendship which has to be established with the various contemporary manifestations of Mammon. The Christian Stewardship campaign is currently provoking this sort of exercise in heart-searching in the Church of England. The purpose of this article is to examine the effect of the Church's regular projection on the TV screen, to the camera and on the studio floor during the last and first seven years of two-channel TV in this country.

At first sight, the difference is enormous between the way of life of those who earn their living in TV and those who, whether as priests or laymen, devote most of their working hours to the Church and its multifarious concerns in the world. The TV world is glossy, expensive, breathless. The programmes are the thing. Everything is subsidiary to their going out on time, looking, if not always written, as well as human ingenuity, hampered by an inevitably tight production schedule, can make them. Organizationally little appears in print. Arrangements are made at top speed almost always on the telephone, in snatched conversations in bars and corridors, occasionally in tortured and explosive meetings, where the different creative approaches have to be painfully reconciled into coherence, if not harmony. The key people who plan and produce the programmes and usher them on to the air are mostly young and emotionally completely committed round the clock to the mysteries of their exciting trade. When they are not working on programmes, they are thinking about other ones, in restaurants, pubs, clubs, restaurants, theatres and cinemas. They mostly feel themselves to be part of show business. Sometimes, if they have a hangover, they may fleetingly, in the night watches, deplore the ephemerality, the relentless all-consuming maw of their chosen medium. But generally they are content to be stimulated by their world's brash modernity.

Contrast with this kaleidoscopic gin-hazed existence, where there is never time to think or plan for long, the dignified progress of ecclesiastical committees, the atmosphere of Mothers' Union or Young Wives' Meeting, Harvest Supper, Diocesan House, the Close, booklined study, library, PCC and chapter meetings. No doubt the pace of life for many clergymen, with youth clubs, visiting, counselling thrown in, is no less hectic. But the tempo is different. The round of Church activities is punctuated by the solemn dignity of the Church's year, the festivals, the regular reading

of the appointed services, the liturgy, some, if all too little, time for prayer and contemplation, for the writing of books, articles, addresses, sermons. The eye can be fixed on longer horizons. Even the busiest bishop, arch-deacon or parish priest can count on the regular refreshment of the services in which he ministers, of the glorious buildings among which he mainly moves, and the majesty of the music and ceremonial in which he participates. The tradition he has inherited is age-old. His colleagues and congregations often seem, compared with the TV teams, scarcely less elderly.

Considering the vast disparity of these two worlds, it would be hardly surprising if contact between them had been hard to establish, the traffic of ideas between the two even more difficult. But a minority in both camps has always seen the limitless possibilities of mutual co-operation for the good of the Church. The record, from Lord Reith's incumbency of the BBC, when sound radio first established a pattern of religious broadcasts, has not been unworthy. The advent of ITV and, in particular, the initiative of the two weekend main programme contractors, ABC and ATV, quickened the pace as the rash of two-channel TV aerials sprouted out all over the country. Their experiments, like the programme for teenagers, "Sunday Break", half pop and rock-and-roll, half serious discussion between young people with parsons, trying to deal with honest agnostic adolescent questionings, may have sometimes shocked the conventional. ITV's handful of lay producers was less inhibited by tradition than the BBC's carefully organized religious department, composed mainly of parsons turned producer. Both sides have achieved more in this field than might have been expected of them at the start of TV by anyone who had an appreciation of the denominational pitfalls and of the profound mistrust of the new medium felt by many educated people, who could have helped to enhance its value if they had not started by scorning its vulgarity.

Services on both channels are almost without exception faultlessly televised, with or without commentary. It is surprising to find that this type of TV broadcast, now taken for granted in this country, is still unheard of or a novelty in other Western European countries. A handful of clergy has specialized successfully in the difficult art of the commentary. It is, of course, impossible to assess the effect of such services on the viewer. As far as the uncommitted are concerned, each is an arrow shot in the air which may or may not be retrieved, if not immediately then at some later time in a man's life. It is better surely to broadcast Church services than to leave the screen empty on Sunday mornings or evenings or fill it with trivialities. What is certain is that these services have been a priceless boon to bedridden and sick people who could have no other comparable means of keeping in touch with their Church.

The round of weekly religious programmes each Sunday evening on both channels maintains a not unworthy standard, occasionally reaching the heights with programmes like "A man born to be King", "Christ in Jeans", "Love is my calling" ("The Clothing of a Nun"), "The Good Friday News", "Inquest at Golgotha" or the BBC vignette of Father O'Flynn's work in Cork for deaf and dumb children, or religious spectacles such as "Laudes Evangelii" or "Black Nativity". The ITV companies for the most part

THE INNOCENTS

A girl of five, a boy of seven
 brother and sister, find their heaven
 in a blossomy garden of middle May
 matches of cuckoo's roundelay
 interweave their two-fold chime
 in a rapt region out of Time
 Hawks in its azure hang stock-still
 forever, forgetting swoop and kill
 The hell-fire of the megaton
 sleeps undiscovered in the stone
 The light feet merrily dance upon.
 Spelled in a dream, the boat of blue
 Their father built for holding two
 Travels, whenever they clamber in,
 Through seas of white and gold and green
 Unnumbered and unmemorial miles
 Around enchanted capes and isles
 To the world's breathless verge and back

O white-winged splendours in their
 track,

And sunrise wonders at their prow,
 Is there no skill of ours, no vow
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 Poignant enough, no love, no love
 Strong enough and wise enough
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 From the horrible death-cloud hovering
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are punctilious about the nightly closure of their broadcasting with an epilogue. In these the standard of TV competence of the individual priest or layman has risen greatly. Clergy do not try any more to impose the standards and mannerisms of the pulpit on the studio. Most of the exponents on TV labour all the time to improve their approach and technique, and approach the medium with real humility. The Churches have worked hard to train up through the BBC, ITV and their own TV centres and committees and courses cadres of dedicated clergy who seek to project their message as effectively as possible and not their own personality.

The official machinery of consultation between the Churches and the programme makers, e.g. the BBC's Central Religious Advisory Council, its TV Panel (possessing currently stricter powers than its parent body) and the host of individual Religious Advisory Panels appointed to the ITV companies have all worked well. The ITA has shown wisdom and initiative in creating special opportunities for advisers and producers to get together in periodic consultations and the Churches have initiated similar meetings. Some of the ITV companies have gone further than religious advisory panels by appointing ACU chaplains to their studios and thus freely encouraging the Church to come inside and take part in the process of programme production. It is too early yet to assess the results of this

sort of experiment. The chaplains concerned have had to proceed cautiously and often be content to be passive but friendly observers on the fringe of the creative process, not getting in the way in the director's box or on the studio floor, but letting it be known in canteen and bar that they are benevolently available. Their problems are *sui generis* but probably not so greatly dissimilar from those of other industrial chaplains.

But when all the careful new machinery on both sides has been checked, the hundreds of hours of TV religious programming examined, the observer is forced to the conclusion that the opportunities of the medium have been utilised, almost grudgingly at times, by the minorities in the Churches who have recognised them, in the teeth, as it were, of the conservative majorities who still despise and distrust them. The fault does not lie in fact with the religious producers or advisers on either side. The flaw remains where it has been from Lord Reith's incumbency of the BBC onwards; in the arbitrary and disastrous separation of religion from life, a false tradition which has regrettably become embedded to some extent in both BBC and ITV. It is, of course, no more than a reflection of the secular atmosphere in which we live.

At times, on the contrary, the Christian postulates on which our society is based are movingly reflected on TV, e.g. the Coronation, the Church festivals like Christmas, Good Friday and Easter, new Church projects like the opening of Guildford and Coventry Cathedrals and major international ecclesiastical occasions like the New Delhi World Council of Churches' meeting and the present Roman Catholic Oecumenical Council, when even the most agnostic programme planner is forced to rack his brains to satisfy an anticipated demand from viewers of appropriate Christian programme content.

The creative thinking about this new form of evangelism is at the present time confined to individuals in every Christian denomination and small groups in most, but it tends because of its prehistory to be confined too much to exclusively Christian themes and Church occasions. How seldom is the Christian point of view or the believer's moral dilemma projected in any character in the inexorable flow of TV plays. How rare it is to be able to identify any Christian standard of values in the writing of the vast majority of such plays. How unusual it is to find any item or shade of specifically Christian opinion reflected in the major serious feature programmes like *Panorama*, *Monitor*, *This Week* and *Tonight*. This is not so much a criticism of the producers of these and many other excellent recurring TV programmes. Their ears are professionally open to any good news or feature story. The criticism, if any is merited, must be more of the dearth of programme and item suggestions which reach them from the direction of the Churches, where it seems not enough imaginative people are viewing selectively and creatively.

This lack is evidenced by the almost total lack of TV coverage in the main Church papers. Only the *Church of England Newspaper* and the *Universe* currently run regular TV columns. *Frontier* manifests a praiseworthy if sporadic awareness of broadcasting problems. The Roman

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EDUCATION—

LIBERALS AND EDUCATION

BRUCE PATTISON

who is Professor of Education, Institute of Education, University of London, and Chairman of the Liberal Party Education Committee

LIBERAL education policy is based on the equilibrium Liberalism tries to maintain between the claims of community and individual. Society's demands must be satisfied, but the individual has a right to self-development. The obvious needs of society are not the only considerations, and the individual is a member not a servant of the community. All talent should be given a chance to develop. An efficient and affluent society is only worth pursuing if it makes possible a rich community life with plenty of scope for individuality.

At present in this country all talent is not encouraged to develop. The state does not act vigorously to secure equality of opportunity. Liberalism must still be vigilant to eliminate privilege. Facilities for education are inadequate, unevenly distributed and unsatisfactory.

The proof of inadequacy is the amount of effort that goes into selection. There are not sufficient places in universities for all who want them. Parents are disappointed at their children's failures to qualify for grammar school places. Half the young people in the country get no education beyond the age of 15. Yet with so much unsatisfied demand there is a shortage of trained people for every kind of profession and craft.

A child's chances of securing the education most suited to him depend to some extent on where he lives. Local authorities have unequal resources and spend different proportions of them on education.

Parents who can afford it buy education for their children outside the national system. The sort of advantage they obtain is shown by the fact that the 6 per cent of children who are in independent schools have 9 per cent of the teachers. In the maintained schools there are not even the staffs thought by the Ministry of Education to be the minimum necessary. A fifth of the primary school children are in classes of more than 40 and a fifth of the secondary school pupils in classes of more than 35. The obsolescence of the facilities is indicated by the fact that 61 per cent of primary schools were built before 1900.

It is evident that some of these defects can be remedied only by spending more on education. The amount that can be made available will depend on government policy as a whole, but only 4.6 per cent of the national income is being spent on education at present, and this does not seem a very large investment in the future, as it has become fashionable to regard education. The Liberal Education Committee in its recent Report* suggests an increase in expenditure of £100,000,000 a year during each of the next five years. This is reasonable and should be possible. It would not, however, pay for all that needs to be done. Priorities would

* Obtainable from Liberal Publication Department, 58 Victoria Street, London, SW 1, 2s 6d or 50 cents, postage extra.

have to be fairly rigorously determined, and this is where policy must be shaped by the application of general principles

The Liberal Education Committee is quite certain that "the crux of any educational advance is the quality of the teaching. The supply and quality of teachers is the crucial matter" (Report, pp 31 and 39). Efforts should be concentrated on recruiting more teachers and on making sure of getting the best teachers possible. While there is a shortage of both teachers and accommodation, the Committee is against prolonging the period of compulsory schooling, but children are voluntarily staying on longer, sixth forms are increasing in size, and higher education must expand. The supply of teachers at all levels is going to be a growing problem during the next few years. At the school level to cope with the greater numbers and to reduce classes to the Ministry's minimum standards will require about 50 per cent greater recruitment. To staff maintained schools as well as independent schools are staffed at present would require more than that, and for reasons that will become clearer presently it is desirable that that should be the ultimate objective. It would probably be safest to aim at doubling the present intake to the profession during the next seven or eight years. This will be very difficult. The current programme of expansion of teacher training is not really adequate to hold the present position. To secure improvement a much greater effort is needed.

It is advisable to consider the training of teachers in the context of higher education as a whole. The openings for graduates in other professions affect the supply of teachers, and the number of university places has some influence on the entry to teacher training colleges. Indeed, the administration of higher education needs bringing together some body should be responsible for considering what happens to 18-year-olds after the sixth form. At present universities are financed directly by the Treasury and CATs and teacher training colleges by the Ministry of Education through two different channels. There is no reason why the University Grants Committee procedure should not be applied to all of them. This would assure institutions of independence and ability to develop their own characters, while at the same time providing a planning body that could look at a group as a whole. However many committees would be convenient to cover the various kinds of higher education in this way, there should certainly be one that considered the whole of it.

The targets so far set for university expansion are too small for the rising demand for places and for national requirements. More finance and plans for more new universities are urgently needed. A general expansion of higher education would not only directly help to remedy shortages in many professions but would indirectly improve the supply of teachers. This should therefore have first claim on the resources available.

It is not certain that all who satisfy minimum university entrance requirements will be suitable for the present very specialised courses. That is not a good reason for denying higher education to those who want it. More general courses will have to be developed, and the new universities

are all very sensibly trying experiments along these lines. There is probably room even for slightly less academic courses with more relevance to various vocations and yet strong intellectual discipline. Liberal Arts Colleges have been suggested and are well worth considering, perhaps in some sort of relationship with universities. They might be based on teacher training colleges, which are already associated with universities. The teaching profession would benefit from being educated along with other professions.

The quality of teachers is as important as the number. Good people will not be attracted to the profession unless its rewards are comparable with those of other professions. Women will increasingly play their parts after raising families, and the training of women should take more account of that situation. It is on men that the profession must rely for a full career of service, and they must have salaries commensurate with their responsibilities. Dependents' allowances would make a difference to married men. But status is also important. Unless the teaching profession is respected and has means to protect itself, as the legal and medical professions do, it will not compete successfully for the ablest and otherwise most desirable men. As a start the practice of teaching should be restricted to those trained and qualified for it. Present shortages should not be an excuse for not implementing powers the Ministry of Education already has for ensuring this.

Whatever is done now, teachers will be too few for some years. A small outlay for research into their best use, and aids to extend their effectiveness, would be a good investment. Indeed, research is a neglected component of educational progress. A modest budget for it, reckoned in thousands rather than in millions of pounds, would bring large returns by preventing waste of effort and the application of resources at the points where they could produce the best results. It would also influence teacher training and so improve the efficacy of teachers.

If we are to develop all latent talent, we must encourage people to seek education and provide education suitable for them when they want to go on with it. It is not a question of lowering standards; there is no reason why everybody should not attain the best standard he is capable of, but there must be varied provision for a wide range of abilities.

At the school level there is wastage through lack of expectation of education beyond a certain age in some classes of the community. The children of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who secure admission to grammar schools tend to fall out early. The 11-plus tests are very good of their kind, but they do not reveal such essential factors as persistence and parental encouragement, which are just as important as ability. Half the grammar school population does not get within sight of qualifications for higher education. On the other hand, the number who did qualify might be raised by 50 per cent, if 6 per cent of those now rejected at 11-plus were given a chance in grammar schools, and it would probably be worth while carrying a certain amount of dead wood in those schools so as not to miss any potential at present undeveloped. To be sure that no talent is frustrated selection must be left as late as

possible, when it becomes almost self-selection, because then at least the probability of a person's staying in education beyond the age of 15 becomes clearer. The present division between primary and secondary schooling is an accident of history and has no educational basis. Administrative convenience must always play some part in deciding where it shall come, and the Liberal Education Committee has suggested that about 13-plus would be a practicable stage, since in the not-too-distant future it will be customary for the majority to stay at school until they are 16. After 13-plus there is much to be said for comprehensive schools, which would not need to be as large as the present ones and so would not be open to a criticism that has been levelled at them. But Liberals would not wish to impose one type of organization everywhere, and other arrangements could be made to ensure ease of transfer from one course to another and good relations among young people taking different courses and with different interests and abilities. What is very much to be desired is the end of the widespread feeling of being excluded from opportunities and the snobberies and jealousies that are just causes of present discontents.

The uneven distribution of facilities, which is another source of inequality of opportunity, is due to variations in resources of education authorities and local discretion about the proportion of total revenue devoted to education. Some Liberals have become so uncomfortable about this that they have proposed taking education out of the hands of local authorities altogether. National finance is indeed a necessity in present conditions: rates cannot support the inevitable rise in costs. But education must enlist public interest not only generally but in detail. The education of one's children is a very personal matter acted out in a very specific place, somebody on the spot must take responsibility for it. It is true that the critics of local authority control want to retain local committees for detailed administration of schools, but planning would be done regionally, and it would be difficult to get at members of regional boards, who would not be directly elected. The *ad hoc* local bodies, too, would be less accessible than members of local authorities. Greater representation for experience in education and greater autonomy for education committees would be welcome, but the all-purpose local authority should surely provide a majority of the members, since people have a habit of going to their elected councillors with their problems and opinions. Schools should belong to their neighbourhoods, and really local control would entail smaller authorities. A district large enough to provide a full range of secondary education would be the natural unit for administering schools. The Liberal Local Government Committee has produced proposals which would meet the conditions the Liberal Education Committee considers essential. They would give local authorities greater financial equality and security, and directives from the Ministry of Education could ensure a minimum expenditure on education. They also envisage second-tier authorities which could be just about the size for maintaining complete school systems. Regional boards would be an advantage to co-ordinate technical education, perhaps to act as intermediaries between Whitehall and local authorities and to see that no dispersed demand was neglected.

But detachment of education from the established channels of representative local government could lead to estrangement from public sympathy and interest, which are particularly important for education. The hospital service is a dubious precedent. The Ministry's planning record is not impressive, nor can present deficiencies be fairly attributed mainly to local authorities, many of which have shown interest and initiative. Less detailed control and bolder leadership from the Ministry is more likely to keep standards generally high than a national service controlled by the Ministry through a regional organization, with local initiative limited to detailed administration of schools established and maintained by remoter agencies. In any case, organization is scarcely worth the friction a change of principle would involve. Salvation will not come from machinery.

Equality of opportunity can only mean that the State gives everybody the chance of finding the education suited to him. In a democratic society the State is not justified in favouring one section of the community more than another. All cannot benefit from a uniform type of education, and the aim should be to offer the best possible facilities for each individual to pursue the course suited to him. Parents' beliefs and preferences should be respected as much as individual variations. This is easy where a group is large enough to have a school conducted according to its principles. It should also be possible to make boarding school places available for those who want or need them. Rural schools could often be brought up to an economic size by attaching to them boarding accommodation open to children from all over the country. There must always be some minorities too small to have special provision made for them, however, and there should be scope for new ideas and experiments difficult to try out in a publicly maintained system. Parents cannot be denied the right to have their children educated outside the system, as long as the standard of the education they select is satisfactory.

The practice is less admirable than the theory, since only wealthy parents can afford to exercise their right, and the schools they patronize not only offer advantages, such as smaller classes, but enjoy great social prestige. This makes them an object of envy, and it is urged that they should be integrated with the national system. This sounds much more radical than it really is. If it is not a euphemism for liquidation by filling them entirely with pupils selected by public authorities, it merely means an extension of arrangements already in existence whereby schools can receive a direct grant from the Ministry in return for reserving a certain percentage of their places for pupils selected by a local authority. The difficulty about extending it to the independent schools with greatest social prestige is that they are expensive boarding schools. Local authorities at present do not provide boarding facilities for all who need them, but the schools represented in the Headmasters' Conference could not make good all the deficiencies, and selection for the places they could or would offer would be very difficult. The cost would also be very high. It would be much more satisfactory for local authorities to co-operate in developing their own boarding schools.

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UNESCO AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL

JAMES AVERY JOYCE

Author of 'World in the Making', 'Revolution on East River', 'Justice at Work', etc., and a recent UNESCO publication entitled 'Target for To-morrow' (Paris, 1962), describing in greater detail the remarkable educational planning schemes which UNESCO is promoting in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Currently Visiting Lecturer at New York and other American Universities

TWO-THIRDS of the earth's people live in the under-developed regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The shattering disparities between their standards of life and those of the rest of the world can no longer be left to "improve" by allowing things to take care of themselves, or by occasional handouts, primarily aimed at "stopping" Communism. The reason for this is that the swift mobility of ideas today is making the inhabitants of technically-backward areas rapidly aware of the vast differences between their standard of living and that of the West. Hundreds of millions of hungry, unclad, sick and poorly-sheltered individuals now know that they need not stay that way any longer.

And something else has happened. No single nation, or group of nations, however "advanced", can itself deal effectively with this yawning gap between the rich and the poor members of the human race. The multiplicity of questions involved in filling it presents a trans-world problem demanding a world solution of similar proportions. Nor can it be done internationally, in the old sense of the word. No one international institution, however endowed with wisdom and resources, can tackle more than a small part of it. International co-operation must be supra-national, horizontal as well as vertical, to bridge the gulf.

The United Nations General Assembly voted in 1961 to launch what is called the "Development Decade". The Economic and Social Council this summer in Geneva spelled out the details. The present Assembly in New York has just authorised the biggest venture of world economic co-operation ever attempted in man's history.

To achieve an annual *growth* of 5 per cent in national incomes, the United Nations system of aid will need to be expanded and intensified on a broad front. First steps will be directed towards improving education and vocational training, increasing food production, exploiting natural resources, promoting industrial development and better housing, developing science and technology, and expanding international trade. At a rough estimate, these all-purpose objectives would raise the flow of capital and assistance to between four and five billion US dollars a year above present levels.

This article is mainly confined, however, to the educational side of the decade. Each government has to determine its *national* objectives, and the obstacles to be overcome in improving its "development potential", as the documents phrase it. The mobilisation of human resources is a *precondition* for achieving the vast material aims of the Development Decade. Education has to come first. "The unutilised talents of their

people constitute the chief present waste, and the chief future hope, of the developing countries," states the UN Report, introducing the proposals, and it goes on "High priority must accordingly be given to establishing educational systems well adapted to the economic and social needs of the developing countries"

But why the UN? Why cannot the rich countries act on their own and pour in teachers and equipment and funds? UN Secretary-General U Thant replies "The United Nations system is well placed to undertake this task. It can draw on a world-wide pool of experience and technical knowledge in many diverse fields, and a range of contacts which are unparalleled, if they can be brought to bear upon the problems of each country in a unified and swift manner. The services offered by it are impartial and without political strings or implications. It has no vested interest in specific sectors against others, or in specific types of development or in specific projects for financing. Yet, while outside local rivalries and disputes, the United Nations system is not an outside body, it embodies the idea of partnership and the assisted country is itself a member." There it is in a nutshell.

Hence UNESCO's rôle, as the UN's educational agency, is vital from the outset. Behind the many new projects to open up natural resources in country after country, it is first necessary to expand cartographic services, prepare surveys of water needs and resources, intensify work on mineral exploration, plan future energy needs, develop small power units in rural areas, and promote small industries. All these activities depend on a literate and trained manpower.

In the field of housing and public health, it is estimated that in Africa, Asia and Latin America, between 19 and 24 million dwellings must be constructed *annually*, throughout the Decade in order to eliminate existing shortages within the next 30 years, as well as to house the increase in the population. As in the parallel developments of transport and communications, the expansion of international trade, and the many other functions of the Decade, education has an indispensable rôle to play from the start.

In facing this tremendous new challenge, UNESCO and its 100 or more Member-States are confronted with the deplorable fact that half the world's population is unable to read or write. There are still 200 million children of school age *for whom no schools exist*. UNESCO's primary concern is therefore how best and most quickly to extend school teaching. More and more governments, recognising that minimum standards of education are essential to the economic growth of their countries, are asking for every kind of advice and assistance in their efforts to make free and compulsory education available to all their children. The building of schools, the training of teachers, the improvement of textbooks and of teaching materials—everything is needed, all at once, in astronomic figures. UNESCO has become the keystone of the Decade.

- By organising several conferences, so that the separate countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America could specify their aims in developing their educational systems, the Organisation had already several years back begun to establish priorities, for instance, in teacher training, and to

estimate the cost of these programmes and the amount of the external aid needed

"Half the world's adult population and half of its juvenile population," declared Professor Paulo de Berredo Carneiro of Brazil, chairman of the International Educational Building Conference, organised in London by the United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO in July 1962, "are illiterate—700 million men and women have never set foot in a school, 100 million children and adolescents are growing up with no opportunity of learning to read, write or count"

To learn the facts behind this immense need, UNESCO has been convening meetings at the ministerial level in the main regions of the world. These regional conferences have become the framework of the UNESCO programme. The overall educational plan adopted by the Conference of Asian Member States in Karachi in 1960 aims at *universal compulsory schooling by 1980*. The Karachi plan calls for the provision of physical accommodation and equipment for no less than 171 million children over and above the number enrolled in 1960, as well as the replacement of premises now occupied by half the present enrolment, that is, by some 33 million pupils.

Under the Addis Ababa plan, drawn up at a conference of African States in May 1961, school buildings must be provided for some 22 million new pupils, if compulsory primary education is to be achieved by 1980. The UNESCO Major Project in Latin America, in operation since 1957, sets the same physical task of accommodating about 17 million more children by 1970. In these three regions, school buildings will be needed within the next ten to twenty years to house 210 million *additional* primary school pupils, without taking into account the replacement of unsatisfactory premises.

How many teachers are needed for all these new pupils? In Asia, the number of teachers required in 1980 will be 6,800,000, that is *more than treble* the number now in the classrooms. If universal primary education is to be achieved in Africa by 1980, the number of *new* teachers required each year will have to rise to 76,700 at the peak. The provisional estimates for the Latin American countries are 130,000 extra teachers for the children *not* enrolled now and 275,000 for the children who will reach school age. Thus, in teacher-training alone, the programme is immense.

On the physical side, the overall aims of the regional plans involve the construction of about five and a half million additional classrooms, four million additional houses for teachers, and the provision of furniture, teaching aids, textbooks and other school material on a scale proportionate to the total enrolment of the 220 million children expected to be in school by 1980.

These breathtaking vistas into a human future which is focussed on peacemaking instead of warmaking (and we can't go both ways any longer) must be set in a financial frame. The Karachi Conference estimated that the total cost of this 20-year programme to establish free and compulsory primary education in the 15 countries concerned, would amount to *56 billion* US dollars, that is 3,200 million dollars each year. The present

average *per capita* expenditure for Asia of 3.5 dollars per annum would rise to about 5 dollars by 1980. Yet this is still less than *one-tenth* of comparable expenditure in the West.

"We have heard with deep satisfaction," said the Education Ministers and officials of Asia, "of the decision at Addis Ababa of our brother ministers in Africa, to invest immediately 4 per cent of their gross national product in education, raising it to 5 per cent by 1970 and 6 per cent by 1980. We have also read the Santiago Declaration of our Latin American colleagues, which records their decision to raise their investment target for education to 4 per cent by 1965. After taking stock of our varying present situations, we have decided that Asian countries should gradually move by stages to investing 4-5 per cent of their gross national product in education by 1980, provided their rate of economic growth as individual countries can afford it. We now turn to our friends all over the world and call on them to join us in this Asian crusade for a better life."

Can these percentages be reached? The African delegates at their conference gave long and detailed thought to ways and means. They anticipated an actual deficit rising from \$140 million in 1961 to \$450 million in 1965, and reaching a peak of one billion US dollars in 1970, when secondary and higher education systems would be working satisfactorily, if the percentages were maintained.

On one factor—like the other regions—they are emphatic. Their countries look to UNESCO for vastly expanding aid in terms of professors, teachers, fellowships, equipment and libraries. They look to UNESCO as a clearing house, advising them on sources of teachers willing to serve in Africa, and especially of experts to train them in the use of audio-visual equipment and of new mechanical methods of teaching applied to African conditions.

It is abundantly clear that large-scale teacher-training has become a priority of priorities. To meet this urgent need, regional courses have already been organized at Bogota in 1959, Khartoum in 1961 and in Europe in 1961-2. Regional training centres were set up in 1961 in New Delhi and Beirut, and other centres followed in 1962 at Dakar and Santiago. But it soon became evident that a central institution was required for the training of personnel on a world basis. Hence, one of the immediate projects before UNESCO's biennial conference, meeting in Paris in November, is the establishment of an institute for advanced research and training in educational planning. The new institute is, perhaps, UNESCO's major response to the Development Decade during its initial stages.

Here, then, is the beginning of the world-wide crusade "for a better life". Here are the ethical standards and the programmes which are every day exposing the grotesque irrelevancies of the arms race for what they are. Here are the true defences of civilisation—against want and war—defences which can only be built in the minds of men.

United Nations, New York.

WORLD VISTAS—

"THE MAN ON HORSEBACK"¹

THE RIGHT HON LORD OGMORE, PC, TD

INDEPENDENCE is usually accompanied by the creation of a National Flag, the composition of a National Anthem and the cheers and enthusiasm of vast crowds from the newly liberated peoples. Unhappily, in so many cases the bright hopes aroused grow dim as corruption and confusion gradually supervene. Eventually the civilian authority is superseded by a military régime, and another State is added to the long list of those so ruled. I have often wondered why this should be so and how this fate can be avoided, for surely man does not strive to gain independence for his country only to lose individual freedom under military dictatorship.

This book, *The Man On Horseback: The Rôle of the Military in Politics*, answers the first of these questions.

The author, who is Professor of Political Institutions in the University of Keele, has written an exhaustive account of the "Man on Horseback" from the earliest times to the present and in every continent, except Australia where, so far, there have been no Men on Horseback, in the present sense. Professor Finner has written a valuable work which all practitioners and students of politics should study.

Usually we talk of the Communist World and the "Free" World, meaning the non-Communist World, but in fact in the "Free" World itself there is a sub-division between democratic and military régimes, the latter being, politically, a sort of twilight world.

Professor Finner's main thesis can be shortly explained. He claims that a military régime of one kind or another controls a large number of the States which are neither Communist nor liberal-democratic and will soon control most of them, that the military régime is a peculiar political phenomenon, abiding, deep-seated, distinctive, persistent and widespread, that control by the military over the civilian population, so far from being an unnatural phenomenon, is the natural one.

The author explains that the advantages of the military over civilian authorities are a marked superiority in organization, a highly emotionalized symbolic status and a monopoly of arms. The modern army is cohesive and hierarchical. It has, however, two weaknesses. It is technically unable to administer any but the most primitive community. It lacks a moral title to rule. Even in advanced states, however, military matters are becoming so technical that the civilians are more and more in the hands of the military in this field. Military rule, the author points out, may be indirect, dual, *i.e.* joint with civilian, or direct.

With a wealth of detail, the author tells how and why a military régime has taken over in various countries, but my second question, What is to be done to prevent it?, remains unanswered. Indeed, the author concludes by saying that in the very numerous cases where the military are powerful and the civilian authorities feeble, the military are bound to dominate politics.

* *The Man on Horseback* S E Finner Pall Mall Press 27s 6d

Should we submit to this state of affairs? Should the lamp of freedom be extinguished and Part II Orders replace Acts of Parliament?

There seem to me to be two possible solutions to the problem, but, before exposing them, we might just examine the reason why, except for the short period of the New Model Army in the seventeenth century, the precursor, by the way, of a modern military régime, Great Britain has never been under a military dictatorship. I think that the answer lies in the facts that Britain is an island, and that for long it was governed by an aristocracy with a passion for parliamentary debate, hunting and cock-fighting, and (after its experience of the New Model Army) with a horror of a military dictatorship controlled mainly by the middle class.

This horror produced a determination to keep the army in subjection to the nobility and gentry. This was done by Annual Army Acts, the subordination of the military to the civilian courts, and the filling of most officer posts by aristocrats or by their nominees.

Such a policy certainly prevented the imposition of a military régime. It also had other results. One was that the British Army as a unified fighting force in time of peace did not exist. Basically its normal organization was the regiment, and higher formations and staffs were hastily collected together at the beginning of a campaign.

So long as the British Army's probable opponents were organized on similar aristocratic lines no great harm was done, except to the unfortunate individuals sent to war with only rudimentary tactical direction and completely inadequate supply, medical and administrative services. The Commander in Chief of the British Army in the latter half of the nineteenth century was HRH the Duke of Cambridge "Brains", he used to exclaim contemptuously, "Brains, what does an officer want with brains?" Unfortunately his Prussian relatives took a different view. The rot set in. By this time, however, the Parliamentary and democratic processes in Great Britain had become firmly established. Even in the First World War the British Generals never seriously contemplated, as did their German counterparts, imposing their will on the civilian authorities.

In this brief review of the British background I do not, of course, include Ireland, where the English and Anglo-Irish aristocracy for long used the military to sustain an alien occupation, and where the Conservative Party, with its usual mixture of cunning and self-interest, prevented Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Party in the late nineteenth century from passing a Home Rule Bill which would have retained Ireland as a co-partner with the rest of the British Isles.

The difficulty with the democratic system lies not with the Government but with the Opposition. The duties and responsibilities of a Government are easy to appreciate, even if not always easy to fulfil. The duties and responsibilities of an Opposition are difficult to recognize and define. In the Commonwealth, as elsewhere, these problems are often present. In Ghana and Nigeria, for example, opposition leaders have been put under arrest, of one kind or another, parties proscribed, and allegations of subversion made. Even in Uganda, which became independent only on October 9, 1962, the Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, has recently declared

that the Opposition party, called the Democratic Party, has been pursuing a policy of subversion and obstruction, and has warned it that unless it mended its ways the Government would be forced to declare it unlawful and to suppress it

In case the British become too smug, it is as well to remember that in 1914 the official Opposition, the Conservative Party, was engaged in fomenting trouble in Ireland in opposition to the Liberal Government's Home Rule Bill. Prominent Conservatives made noisy nuisances of themselves, stirring up the people of Northern Ireland against the legitimate Government. The slogan was "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." If war with Germany had not been declared, civil war in Ireland might have developed.

In my view, Professor Finner is right. The national State is unlikely to be able to stand out against the military in any but the most politically and economically advanced countries, and not always even there.

Except in reactionary circles, such as the British Labour Party, the view is now widely held that economically, politically and militarily, the independent, sovereign, national State has no place in the world today. With the possible exceptions of the USA, the USSR and China, no State is economically or militarily able to stand on its own feet.

The time has come for larger groupings. First, in non-Communist Europe, we need a United Europe with one Parliament for its common purposes—and one only—based on the Council of Europe or the European Parliament of the European Economic Community and directly elected by the peoples of the various countries, although a federal system is a possibility eventually. Secondly, in the Atlantic Alliance, composed of non-Communist Europe, the North American continent, Iceland and such other Atlantic States as are prepared to undertake the responsibilities of membership, an Atlantic Assembly developed from the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference and, in the first instance, nominated by member Parliaments, but possibly later elected by universal suffrage. Thirdly, we need a United Nations Organization with real teeth.

By real teeth I mean power to make decisions and to enforce them. This entails the abrogation of the so-called "veto" in the Security Council, by the substitution of an appeal by a dissatisfied party to the Assembly, and by the creation of the United Nations' own armed services. These should consist of separate and permanent naval, military and air forces, with their own military government or civil affairs organization, all created, controlled and paid by, and owing sole allegiance to, the United Nations and having their own command structure and staff.

When national governments are superseded, except for minor domestic matters, by regional and world-wide international authorities, and when national forces are abandoned and give way to regional and world-wide international forces, the civilian authorities in all countries will be free of national military control.

It may be objected that a regional or world-wide international military force may come to dominate the civilian authorities and itself set up an international military régime. This is possible, most things are possible;

but the regional forces would eventually disappear, there would remain only a United Nations force. This would be small and quite incapable of administering the world. Furthermore, as anyone will agree who has served in an international force, it is impossible to conceive of agreement among the military drawn from so many different nations on such a project as domination, either regionally or world-wide.

So far as the difficulties of an effective opposition are concerned, these can only be overcome in a stable and educated society. Here the duty of the developed nations is plain. Only through direct and multilateral financial, technical and managerial assistance, by aid to, and trade with, the under-developed countries, by international commodity and food agreements, by measures which would increase both the volume and value of their exports, including special tariff concessions, and by a really big crash programme of education on the largest possible scale can the developed nations, the rich nations, make a satisfactory contribution to the problems of our under-developed neighbours. When two-thirds of the population of the world are on the borderline of want, when hunger is the constant companion, how can a free, democratic society flourish? In 1961 the world's population increased by 52 million. But the world's supply of food increased not at all.

My proposals, in short, are international remedies for national diseases. These are as good a liberal and radical doctrine in the military field as they are in the political and economic.

WHITHER FRANCE?

W L MIDDLETON

THE political crisis provoked by the vote of censure of the National Assembly and the fall of the Pompidou Government brought the Gaullist régime deeply into question. The immediate origin of the quarrel, which threatens to spread into a controversy about the whole character and method of Gaullist government, was the procedure chosen for the revision of the Constitution authorising the election of future Presidents of the Republic after de Gaulle's departure by the whole nation, instead of by the restricted electoral college by which de Gaulle was himself invested. The Constitution (Article 89) provides that revision should be carried out by a Bill presented to Parliament and after adoption by both Chambers submitted to a national referendum.

The Pompidou Government prepared a Bill, but instead of presenting it to Parliament, proposed to pass it on directly to the President of the Republic for submission to the referendum without more ado. General de Gaulle based this procedure on Article 11 of the Constitution, which permits the President to submit to a referendum a Bill dealing with the organization of public powers which is not contrary to the Constitution. In presence of the specific provisions of Article 89, the text of Article 11

does not warrant its being used for constitutional revision. The Council of State (*Conseil d'Etat*), a juridical body, non-political, pronounced the project to be contrary to the Constitution. The National Assembly reacted violently. The vote of censure was supported by 280 Deputies, a decisive majority in an Assembly whose total membership was 480.

Although the vote of censure was necessarily directed against the Pompidou Government the debate showed that the real target of the orators was General de Gaulle, who was accused of the abusive acquisition of power into his own hands. M. Paul Reynaud quoted Article 20 of the Constitution as laying down the fundamental rule "the Government determines and conducts the policy of the nation." There is only one head of the executive power, he said, it is the Prime Minister, alone responsible, with his Government, before Parliament. But in spite of Article 20, said M. Reynaud, France has been governed in the last four years by the President of the Republic. The cause of this confusion was that General de Gaulle wanted to accumulate the honours of the head of the State and the powers of the Prime Minister, or, as M. Reynaud said in a piquant illustration, he wanted to be "at once Churchill and George VI." M. Reynaud's presentation of the case is interesting because the object of so many of General de Gaulle's interferences in the conduct of public institutions has been to "keep the National Assembly in its place." He has never hesitated to protect the Government against any attempt of the Assembly to trespass on the province of the executive, but who is to defend the Government against the inroads of the President?

M. Monnerville, the President of the Senate, made an important contribution to the attack on the personal government of the President, whose system he described as "at best an enlightened Bonapartism."

General de Gaulle acknowledges without undue shyness the existence of the immense Presidential powers which he is accused of holding. In a recent broadcast, he complacently gave an enumeration of his prerogatives which recalls the long list of the powers which Queen Victoria could theoretically—and legally—exercise, with which Walter Bagehot startled uninitiated readers of his book on *The English Constitution*. M. Mollet, after quoting General de Gaulle's declarations in the censure debate, retorted aggressively that they were in total contradiction with the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of 1958.

It is a disconcerting circumstance of the revolt against the Gaullist régime that, in the present phase, those who attack de Gaulle's personal government as unconstitutional, are momentarily defending the Constitution. But General de Gaulle himself is certain that in seizing for the President of the Republic all the strength in the State, he is taking the only means of defending the Fifth Republic. In his broadcast of October 18, he declared that, if his project were rejected at the referendum, he would retire from power and would not return. This move was undoubtedly made in the expectation that it would rally waverers among the voters and produce a majority of such dimensions as would satisfy him that he need no longer think of retiring. But the use of such a threat showed how much was at stake.

The referendum has been developed by General de Gaulle as the most powerful instrument in his system of government. Who can wonder that the majority of the National Assembly should be alarmed at the thought that such powers would be transferred by the Government project to a future President at present necessarily unknown?

It is a confirmed habit of General de Gaulle to lump together the adversaries of his personal government as a band of politicians hankering after a resumption of the malpractices of the Fourth Republic: the setting up and knocking down of short-lived Ministries. In his pre-referendum broadcast, already quoted, he said that his disappearance from his post would risk plunging France once more in the old confusion. But his principal critics have shown that what they want is a Parliamentary régime in which government will be carried on by an effective executive, but under the control of the nation's elected representatives. In short, the type of régime which is flourishing in most of the democracies of the free world. The principle is deeply rooted in France, in spite of present appearances of hesitation. In the varied institutional experiments of France during the nineteenth century Parliamentary government has always been resumed as the re-establishment of an orthodox political way of life. The true origin of the misfortunes of the Fourth Republic was the shock and humiliation of 1940, which deeply disorganized the body politic. The whole history of the Fourth Republic was a search for a reorganization of the body politic in the presence of impulsive movements born of the war and four years of enemy occupation. Parties, as they emerged in 1945, were not properly parties firmly rooted in traditions, even where they bore old names, but in the revolutionary excitement of the first renewal of liberty, were swollen into "pushes". Impulses repeatedly provoked confusion, not the least disturbing being the rise of the RPF. When the general election of 1951 failed to make the RPF the dominating influence in the National Assembly, its leader abandoned its Parliamentary group to its fate, with the result that a great mass of its adherents went to swell the enormous floating vote and, incidentally, furnished a recruiting ground for the Poujadists, another element of disorder in the struggling body politic, which now seems to have lost its place as an effective party.

The problem to be faced by political leaders who have a claim to statesmanship, and who have to find institutions to replace, eventually, the system of a passing personal government which is not organized in regular institutions, is to construct a political force to back their scheme. There is already in existence a principle which has received the support of a large group of leaders. During the lifetime of the Fourth Republic, M. Paul Reynaud put forward as a solution for the instability of Governments a proposal that if a Government is defeated on an important issue, it should resign, and Parliament should be dissolved. A general election would immediately follow. This plan has been resumed in the phrase "One Government for a Legislature". As a procedure it corresponds roughly to the British practice.

M. Mendès-France is also in favour of this simple principle. M. Mendès-France, who is thorough, has gone further and produced a plan for the

whole framework of a new Constitution. He has spent a year in visiting regional centres in every part of France and inquiring into all sorts of organizations—trade unions, professional groups, social groups, economic units—every element, in short, which has interests which are of the first concern in politics. The central idea of his scheme is that all these elements should be brought together to take part in the new political institutions. Apparently, he would have the second chamber, in place of the present Senate, composed of representatives of these elements. An Economic Council was one of the institutions of the Fourth Republic, and has survived in a modified form in the Fifth. M. Mendès-France gives his assurance that it has done useful work. It is, however, the fate of consultative bodies to be admired and neglected by the high and politically responsible organs of government. M. Mendès-France affirms that in our generation economic measures are at the basis of all government and that the most important State interest is in planning. The economic plan of the current period should therefore be the principal basis of political policy and should be a subject of contract between a political party presenting itself as a candidate for ministerial office, and the majority supporting it. The author of the proposal believes that such an arrangement will favour the formation of durable coalitions, both Parliamentarily and electorally.

It is evident that so full and extensive a scheme is not to be set up in a day. The first task will be to get it adopted by a wide section of active political bodies ready to bring it into the forefront of politics. But the interest of the scheme is that it helps to answer the question as to what the citizens of this generation are concerned about in politics. It is frequently assumed that the younger generation are indifferent to politics, not on principle, but because politics, as at present practised, pays little attention to the real problems which are their own vital concern in daily life. One of the revealing marks of the trend of opinion in the last few years has been the recourse to "direct action" by organized bodies in certain industries and in particular commercial regions quite independently of the official political groupings. The uprising of the peasants, for instance, widespread as it was, completely surprised the Government.

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Catholic Annunciation is the only regular Church publication devoted to the medium. The Church of England now produces a monthly news-sheet, *Focus*, to draw the attention of parishes to future programmes. But organs like the *Church Times*, *Theology* and the *Church Quarterly* evince little, if any, interest.

If many of the programmes which are seen regularly on TV suffer from snippety-ness, triviality and over-materialistic values, that must be partly at least because not enough minds which are capable of detecting these flaws can spare the time or energy to focus upon them and try to effect improvement. The medium is still young and malleable. The opportunities ahead for international co-ordination and joint planning of programmes of exceptional quality and comprehensiveness are unlimited. The thinking and the planning, from the Church's point of view, still wait to be done—but by whom?

PAINS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE US

PROFESSOR WILLIAM E GORDON

THE public issues which are currently causing Americans most concern are those about which rights and freedom have been most emphasized in the history of the country. These issues have given rise to a set of conflicts. The evidence is increasing. It is to be heard in frequent accusations of the Federal Government of a monopoly of rights and a disposition to compromise with Communist States, it is to be seen in many conflicts between groups, over shares of income, in flouting of Federal laws and the Constitution, and heard also in denial of full citizenship to several millions of people, and it is most remarkable in the formation of Fascist types of group, outspoken objections to Federal aid to the highest education, on grounds of State and local rights, and in the hurling of invectives at the United Nations.

These social conflicts have arisen because American dreams and concepts of democracy have been partial and uninspired. There was the vague frontier dream of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that men would learn a common discipline of co-existence and live without stress of relentless competition for goods, place and power. There could be a rough, equalitarian democracy. This, however, as most anticipatory dreams of achievement, came of hope and wishful emotion.

This notion existed while there were abundant land resources, and seemingly, equality of opportunity for all who would, to exploit them to the limit of individual enterprise. Those persons, including Jefferson, who hoped for a durable democracy, based on equality of opportunity in the midst of abundant resources, passed over too lightly two self-evident truths, (i) that inequality of enterprise and drive would bring about inequality of number of dependent followers and therefore the greatest power to govern would be in the hands of the most acquisitive men, and (ii) the American society would develop with a culture of cash, which would make a social democracy entirely impossible of achievement for centuries.

The Jeffersonian democracy was not conceived for the common people, the artisan or the journeyman, certainly not for a proletariat. Jefferson was the artist, the scientist, the scholar. He has to be identified with the wealthy Virginian farming families which had acquired a European culture. His was mainly French, intellectual and aesthetic. The people he had mostly in mind when he expressed a profound belief in their right to govern were, in the main, the Virginian and other farmers of moderate income. Inclusion of any others must be regarded as expediency for compromise.

This partial concept of democracy having failed to produce attitudes of mutuality which would make equality of rights and freedom possible, it is not necessary to consider here the equalitarian democracy of Jackson, which required active fellowship of man with man.

A Harsh New Frontier

The frontier dream vanished before the frontier itself disappeared, but the old traits of rugged individualism, localism, apathy to any central

authority, severe competition for material gain, class consciousness, and suspicion of methods and theories which were not developed at the frontier, remained and grew, with change in environment, till they had to be recognized as parts of the American character, which have changed, as traits of men change everywhere, very slowly and are still more common than any other in many persons who are most active in politics

The reality of the immediate new order, and disorder, was harsh indeed. The investors, traders, bankers and speculators who made the industrial North and East were businesswise individuals. They were no less rugged and were as class conscious as the aristocratic Virginian farmers, who were representative of the South. These entrepreneurs were among the most acquisitive of all time.

They lifted their brows to a horizon of great opportunities for ever greater gain, without qualms about mutual dependence of groups in a society, or discomfort over the well-known fact that no one ever made a fortune by his own effort alone and all income rates and prices are fixed by will, or fixed under pressure, not by consent of all who take part in production, in an economy of enterprise which is private and free.

Industrialization was intensified. So were agricultural production, and the growth of financing and speculative institutions. Sometimes the producing units and their kindred institutions were accelerated till they could be symbolized as rushing tidal waves. They were as enveloping, and as frightening, and wrought comparable havoc. Sometimes there was no sense of direction. Sometimes hesitation and uncertainty caused pessimism and despair. Then there was an ebb tide in business activity.

In the minds of financiers, speculators, investors and producers there was little of culture other than that which was made by eagerness for cash and social self-assertion. And certainly there was no broad sense of social mutuality, without which there cannot be durable democracy, in the minds of socially élite Boston shippers, who authorized flogging of sailors, the New York enterprisers of the early eighteenth century, who associated with pirates for wider scope for ventures, or the Southern plantocrats, who grew rich on slave labour. Such singleness of purpose and such attitudes were not unique in the world, but the time in which they were prevalent in the United States and the culture which permitted them or was imposed by them are not to be confused with any period of rise of a democratic tradition or with democratic growth.

Culture of Cash, Freedoms and Conscience

Such was the culture of cash. It was intolerant of democratic ideas despite the continuing profession of religion. It was bereft of conscience and placed on society in the North and East a stony imprint of practicality and singleness of a transactions purpose of life. A few recent comments made in large industrial cities have been reminiscent of this. "Diction and speech here are distressingly impersonal" and "I do not like New York, because there one has to learn falsity" as a social achievement. And there could be no doubt that without conscience mutuality of individual

to individual and in relations between groups remained too weak a foundation for democracy

Already in the late eighteenth and in the early nineteenth century some of the fundamental rights and freedoms, avowed with doubtful but affirmative pride, were being freely cast aside in the rush for the excitement of business success and attachment to the successful Puritanic religion not only could not oppose this but shared the responsibility for making of successful business both a duty and a virtue

In several parts of the country the cash culture had caused other cultures to be so completely neglected that religion degenerated into meetings of vast crowds for emotional relief. The need was keenly felt by persons in drab environment, and it was in these circumstances that there appeared the phenomenon of relay preaching. As many as seventeen ministers of religion would "whip up" the excitement demanded and sustain it till a climax was reached and many devotees threw themselves on the ground, barking incoherently. This practice, which was common in some parts of the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has not completely died out.

Freedom of competition without which there can be no freedom of enterprise, was one of the first to go, or to be opposed. Powerful enterprisers grew intolerant of it. They pushed competitors aside or struck them down by the force of huge monopolies. Conscience had no place in business, and there is convincing evidence that it has not much now. Surely the rising volume of confessions of illegal price-fixing is not evidence that many enterprisers in the largest corporations are sensitive to the fact of interdependence of persons and groups. The intemperate, defiant attitude of Mr. Humphreys, former Secretary of the Treasury, in giving evidence as to profits in transactions in nickel with the Federal Government was a denial of the right of Government and Public to sustain interdependence and mutuality. Governor Barnett's stubborn defiance of a Federal Court order to admit a negro student to the State University of Mississippi was an example of headstrong resistance of the Old South to racial mutuality. This was especially remarkable, for the plantation wealth of the South was produced mainly by the labour of negroes.

None of these current representative examples indicates an improvement in conscience, and conscience and mutuality are interdependent. When anyone lives in comfort with his conscience he has either done his duty to his fellow men, by moral and social standards which all men in his society had accepted, or he has conducted his affairs or led his life so as not to violate these standards. This is of the essence of mutuality, since the standards which are to be held inviolate are standards for behaviour of person to person. And a sense of mutuality is basic for democratic behaviour.

Inadequacy of conscience in public life in the United States, which is a consequence of the cash culture and the pyramiding of costs and prices, which have become an institution, has made it impossible for most candidates for Federal public office to escape the pressure of business, for they depend on contributions from business to their election campaign expenses.

What, then, are the claims of the United States to democracy and to a competence to offer democratic leadership to the world? Candidly, the claims soar above fact or ignore reality. The cash culture made some fundamental concessions to democracy. They were entirely institutional but they were considered sufficient. They were creation of a Constitution, giving of adults freedom to elect a President and Congress, other officials and lower legislatures, and the making of a system for administration of justice. These institutions were considered adequate political commitments to democracy. Add avowal of equality of opportunity and legal freedom of speech and democracy was an accomplished fact. For the substance and faithful practice of democracy there has been little concern.

Rights of Man Denied

The main conflicts, which were listed at the beginning of this paper, are the elements of a turmoil. The supporters of merely institutional democracy are chafing under gradually increasing pressure for a social democracy with effective equality of rights and emphasis on economic policy. There is high resentment of restriction of the freedom and rights which were first enjoyed at the frontier and which have been retained in substantial measure by the anti-democratic institution of pressure groups at practically all legislatures. They endeavour to determine the content of many laws, in competition with the populace. The measure of retention is due also to the fact that moneyed persons are able to obtain many votes because of a public disposition to conform to prevailing policies.

The conflicts which concern us here really began in the nineteenth century when a powerful corporation could require a railroad to charge a competitor higher rates and give the dominant corporation the difference. In that period girls could be required to work 14 hours a day for 20-30 cents. Here was denial of the right to compete and the right to earn a fair share of income, and these are the rights which one should expect to be upheld in a cash-culture democracy.

The right to think and freedom of speech were denied as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century, when boards of trustees could dismiss professors who dissented from the prevailing cash culture. There is, of course, legal freedom of speech but this freedom is still curtailed or denied by some State officials. Moreover, regardless of Federal or State Constitution, there is still social punishment for expression of some liberal thoughts, and this, which may be denial of income opportunity, can be more severe than legal punishment.

The right to a single citizenship for all was denied by the highest authority when the Supreme Court decided in 1857 that a negro was not a citizen, and it is very common knowledge that some millions of negroes in the South are still denied the right to vote or to study in *State* institutions of their own choice. The hardship of Governor Barnett which illegally prevented the registration of the negro student Meredith, who served for several years in the United States Air Force, for study in the *State* University of Mississippi, was only an extreme case of lack of mutuality as the foundation for a socially effective democracy.

The intense campaign in the South against the United Nations as a "Communist organization" would, if successful, deny other nations the opportunity of discussing with the Government of the United States problems of peace and well-being, which can be solved only by international effort. It would also limit thoughtful and responsible United States' Presidents and congressional leaders to dedication to national interests in the narrow and mistaken sense that none of them was involved outside the United States' borders.

Prevailing Conflicts and Adequate Democracy

Conflicts over shares of income, which are fundamental to all other social and political conflicts in the United States, must be expected in a democracy but they must be limited, for by their fundamental nature they may destroy the democracy itself, which in the United States is still a fragile structure. When union groups refuse to compromise and attempt to enforce higher money income claims by legal economic action they imperil democracy, for Government cannot be indifferent. Nationalization of basic industries, in which current strikes most frequently occur, could be the outcome, and nationalization could give rise to nationalist socialist dictatorship.

When corporate executives conspire to fix prices, which is common at this time, they are emphasizing the fact that the income interests of the producer-seller and the wage earner-consumer are not identical but opposite, and democracy requires them to be at least similar. When they use undemocratic financial means to elect Presidents, as Marcus A. Hanna did to elect McKinley and General Motors to elect General Eisenhower, and also when they seek to have laws made in their specific interests, they are pitting the strength of money against the essential democratic principle of equal opportunity of individuals of equal ability to contribute to legislation for the society.

At the present time the United States may be the world's strongest military power and probably has the most effective economy. Nothing more. If it is desired that a durable democracy emerge, which could inspire both thinking and trusting persons everywhere, equality of rights and opportunities for use of talents and abilities must be made reality. Justice could no longer be politically administered. There could be no monopoly of the media of communication and no preference in circulating information. Higher education would have to be made available to all persons capable of it. The power of the individual to elect legislators and the administrative heads of all political units must be limited to his freedom of speech and his single vote. The economic system would have to work primarily to provide continuously for each adult individual at least the income he needs for the most effective use of his abilities. There must be equality of ability to reach audiences, so that freedom of speech may be real. And, most difficult of all requirements, there would have to be a set of basic sentiments, widely shared, which would have to be preserved in all group conflicts.

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GENESIS OF PRESIDENT NASSER

GEORGE BILAINKIN

PRESIDENT Gamal Abdel Nasser will surprise future historians of Egypt and beyond by a record of formidable and spectacular achievements inside his first ten dangerous years of undisputed power. Thanks to his revolution of July 23, 1952, Egyptians are, for the first time in countless centuries, masters of prehistoric Egypt. Thanks to his régime British troops do not, for the first time in the memory of octogenarian Egyptians, occupy any part of the State territories. Thanks to his Nationalization law of July 1956, the Suez Canal enriches immensely its owners, the people of Egypt, instead of providing delightful dividends for French, British and other foreign bondholders as had been the case since opening day on November 17, 1869. In ten years President Nasser has transformed what had been notoriously the most miserable stretch of land in North Africa, with standards of existence as humbling as any in the world, an unrespected people which did not respect itself. The Egyptians, as he sang poetically on July 22, 1962, with an audience of half a million, "have had a meeting with destiny"

Science flourishes in Egypt's own name—56 papers by her intellectuals have been accepted for a recent international congress organized by the UN. Egypt makes her own rockets and jets. In the six years she has spent £E100 m on remarkable reforms and improvements for the Suez Canal, and £E200 m was so used by the private company in seven decades. She has earned £E247 m from the waterway in her territory in six years and was provided in about 80 years with royalties of £E17 m. About 52 ships use the Canal daily, 40 was the average when the irreplaceable Europeans were in command, and the ships carry greater tonnage, for the maximum draught has risen from 35 to over 37 feet. Over 1,541 new schools have been built in ten years and 55 rose in the ten years before the Revolution, 3,300,000 attend schools and when the President came to power they totalled 1,800,000. The universities cost £E13.5 m—£E4.5 m in 1952. The budget stands at £E1,012 m (£E250 m), 20,000 feddans are reclaimed yearly (2,500), agricultural investments average £E31.7 m (£E3.3 m).

I had better not omit a note for Dr. Beeching, Transport Minister Marples and the head of our BOAC. Railway receipts are £E25 m (£E14.7 m in 1951-2), railway costs are £E18 m (£E18.5 m), passenger traffic totals 120 m (85 m), goods traffic averages 9.3 m tons (6.5 m), diesel locomotives have saved £E4 m, many new stations are being built, and not closed. The United Arab Airline is continually extending services, which now cover Tokio and Moscow, West Africa and London, Algiers and Jeddah, it is buying more and more Comets. The UAA loads tell a story different from that related by others.

Hospitals have "stolen" into the land, clinics, maternity homes, child welfare units. The percentage increase varies from 135 to 350. In ten years £E453 m has gone for education, double the figure for the ten previous years.

Dazzling and near incredible are the economic changes. Many readers will recall the long faces of foreign shopkeepers when asked for a pair of socks or a shirt; all had had to be imported and quality was the last prizewinner. Egypt exports manufactured articles, whereas yesterday she imported needles to sewing machines. Investments in industry reach £E110 m (£E2 m in 1952), production is valued at £E1,300 m (double). Egypt makes lorries and needles, washing machines, omnibuses, ships, butane gas units, bicycles, radio and TV sets, paper, fertilisers, iron and steel, plastics, pharmaceuticals, railway wagons.

About £E720 m went on industrial projects in the ten years; 341 are under way and 657 will be completed shortly. While 2,000 landlords owned 1,176,000 acres, and 80,000 owned 3,300,000, the rest, 2 m acres, was worked by 2 m farmers-peasants. Now 82,000 landlords' property is being worked by peasants—they receive 2.5 m of the 4.5 m acres. Yarn output is 120,000 tons (50,000), cotton textiles 545 m yards (220 m). For this article there are too many live rabbits in the magic box.

And with American and British resignation in circumstances as Chaplinesque as any, the world's greatest artificial body of water is being created in nine years by the Russians, who are extending credits of £113 m for the wonder dam at Aswan. Russian engineers, Russian trucks, Russian earth-movers are helping Egypt raise a monument to life.

What can be the genesis of the modest-living head of resurgent Egypt that was known, despite her unsurpassable beauty and historic glamour, as despondent and primitive, passive and doomed to tragic servility? Maybe the secret is not so elusive. For those who know the inside of many palaces of rulers, one aspect of President Nasser's life remains awesome. It is the Ghandi-esque austerity. It recalls in startling New Delhi's palace of palaces the simplicity of Dr Rajendra Prasad; it recalls Dr Prasad's successor, philosopher Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, perhaps the most illustrious and modest personage living. Not for President Radhakrishnan the trivia of la-di-da clothes for "appearance." Nor for President Nasser in 1962 uniforms or fancy clothes or fancy residence. He dispenses with chargers.

The genesis is not difficult to trace, if we study his longer speeches, the human self-portrait in *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, and a mellow modern interview, offering friendship to Britain. In addresses the President always recalls, naturally, the defeat of Arabi Pasha in 1882, the British aggression and occupation, the Suez Canal and Sudan Condominium "treaties", the behaviour of the Mohamed Ali dynasty, and the secret assault against their partners in Mr Eden's 20 years' treaty of "Friendship and Alliance", 1936, when British tanks crashed Abdin Palace railings on February 4, 1942 (*Cairo to Riyadh Diary*, George Bilalain, London, 1951).

It is well to recognize here that the comically-prepared, criminal and ill-timed Anglo-French aggression in 1956 caused grave fears in Cairo. The President knew this was not a second invasion by the British or French. The most "recent" had kept British forces "for a few weeks", a "few

months", that stretched into 74 years Egyptians knew their strategically situated land had been the playground of foreign soldiers, French and British mostly, for over a century and a half, and it had been chosen as a faultless casino by French, British and other money-lenders, usurers and adventurers. Moreover, President Nasser knew the motto that still probably shines over a wall in Whitehall, penned 70 years before the Suez Canal was cut, by War Secretary Dundas for Foreign Secretary Grenville: "The possession of Egypt by any independent Power would be a fatal circumstance to the interests of this country." I imagine it inspired civil servants till 1956, and perhaps still does duty, in the Gagarin era.

On March 21, 1801, Sir Ralph Abercrombie with 15,000 men defeated Bonaparte at Alexandria. British hopes rose with France's evacuation of the country she had occupied harshly for three years. But during the negotiations for the Treaty of Amiens, March 1802, the Russians unkindly said, "The British must leave, for Europe cannot allow them to stay." Indeed, Britain had to give up all her spoils except for Ceylon and Trinidad. Plans and more plans for Egypt were born, by the dozen. The Government carefully considered one from Mr. J. P. Morrier, of the Embassy in Constantinople. He proposed, naturally, British occupation, secondly, local rule with Turkish sovereignty, thirdly, "destruction of Egypt by inundation." The pearls were rejected and rubies were laid before the Porte by the envoy, Lord Elgin; British troops were to teach Egyptians the secrets of defence.* The British were to garrison Alexandria, and the revenue was to pay the tutors. Britain's first occupation ended in March, 1803, because this was demanded by the Treaty of Amiens. But fearing France, Britain did not play all-year cricket, and "held" on to Alexandria and Malta. More trouble came for Egypt in 1807, with the second British occupation, described by Mr. John Marlowe in *Anglo-Egyptian Relations* as "one of the most melancholy records in British military history." General Fraser arrived in Alexandria in March, and the forces had to go in September. The inhabitants stood looking at British soldiers' heads adorning the pleasure fair at Ezbekieh, near Cairo. The second occupation was over.

The idea of linking the Red Sea and Mediterranean by a waterway was not born with Monsieur de Lesseps. Senusret III (1887-1849, BC), did the work; for the Persian conquerors Darius the First (521-485, BC) reconstructed the neglected canal, and so did Ptolemy II (285-246, BC). For the Romans, Trajan (96-117, AD) began a canal usable during the floods. For the Moslems, Amr Ibn El Ass created a giant waterway, ready in 644, AD.

The de Lesseps work began on April 25, 1859, at Farma, now Port Said. If Britain recalled the Dundas words, Lord Palmerston, better known for the declaration of June 25, 1850 (which took up 65 columns of Hansard), showed the frailty of statesmen. Not one share was taken up in Britain of those held for this country by the de Lesseps concern. Lord Palmerston said on June 1, 1858: "The most charitable view I can take of the scheme,

* Ernest Bevin in 1951 and Mr. Eden in 1936 repeated the words to the still untaught Egyptians during talks in London.

the most innocent light in which it can be regarded is, in my opinion, that it is the greatest bubble ever imposed on the credulity and simplicity of the people of this country" However, Gladstone declared "Is it not a canal that would fall necessarily within the control of the first maritime Power? It is England, and no foreign country, that would obtain command of it" While Parliament was away in 1875, Disraeli (with the help of Messrs Rothschild) obliged, purchasing the impoverished Khedive Ismail's shares for about £4,080,000 He (and Britain) wrongly thought the stock gave Britain a controlling interest; it rose in value in 1938 £54 m

Now to the grisly period of widespread European aggression and muddled grabbing, in which one British name shone decently, that of the courageous Liberal, John Bright He alone opposed the unprovoked war on Egypt in 1882 In 1879 the "dual control", first instituted by London and Paris in 1876, was restored Foreigners were in control, the Khedives did not pay the Army In Egypt's darkest hour foreigners could not be arrested except for trifling offences, Egyptian courts were powerless with decisions challengeable in the "mixed" courts The anger of the people rose In 1850 Egypt had about 6,000 Europeans—in 1875 they had increased to 100,000, half in Alexandria By 1878 foreign loan debts rose to £E68 m, the floating debts to £E16 m, and the internal debts to £E14 m. But of the £E100 m Ismail and Said had received £E65 m, the rest being "commissions and discounts" Finally, an Armenian Christian, Nubar, became Premier of an "international" government, with a Briton, Mr Rivers Watson, as Finance Minister, and Monsieur de Blignières as Public Works Minister They attended cabinets, offered "advice" and sought information where they chose

On July 11, 1882, *The Times* printed a small paragraph stating that the previous evening Lord Granville had told Parliament Admiral Seymour would warn the Egyptians that, unless the Alexandria forts were "temporarily surrendered for the purpose of disarmament", he would open fire He added "There was no alternative" The French, Germans and Austrians wished to "treat" with the Egyptian War Minister, Arabi Pasha. The British refused *The Times* mentioned that 25-ton guns were to fire, and the ships had six-inch protective metal July 11 saw a day's bombardment of Alexandria's forts Next day the city was a mass of flames Sir Wilfrid Lawson told the Commons on July 12 that England had made war without just cause *The Times* wrote that "Arabi"—the Minister of War—"is nothing better than a lawless adventurer, with any legal nationalist movement England has nothing but sympathy" But to *Reynolds News* Arabi Pasha was "the real commander-in-chief head of a Nationalist Party who desire to free Egypt from foreign control The Egyptians fought with much spirit, stubbornly" Earl de la Warr asked the Lords "Was there any declaration of war to the country with which we are in close alliance?" (Mr F Elwyn-Jones, QC, MP, asked Mr. Eden the same question in 1956, and recalled his vivid experiences at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials!) *Reynolds News* attacked a "criminal, cowardly and cruel war". On September 11 Sir Garnet Wolseley with 11,000 bayonets, 2,000 sabres and 60 guns defeated Arabi Pasha (8,000

men, 24 guns) at Tel-el-Kebir. The British took Cairo and secured control of Egypt. For decades the phrase "We are here to restore order; our stay is provisional" was repeated to the incredulous world. Even Mr. Ernest Bevin found it possible to use an unctuous sentence about his intention to leave Egypt in 1951, 69 years later. George Macaulay Trevelyan said of Bright's resignation in the celebrated biography "He alone opposed decidedly the measures that led inevitably to the occupation of Egypt. He realised that modern 'statesmen' of both parties were more or less under the influence of a certain atmosphere of the new age, they were by no means unduly pacific, and they desired, further, to extend the boundaries of the Empire. He disliked the 'City influences' at work" with the danger of more such affairs to collect the debts of bondholders or find new lands for exploitation. "Bright," the biographer added, "agreed with his friend, Goddwin Smith, who said 'This is a stock-jobbers' war—we shall very likely have more of this sort of thing.'" He subscribed to Wilfrid Blunt's view that Arabi Pasha "is a national hero." He pleaded with Gladstone "I venture to assert that such a course, permitting the Khedive and his sham Government to put Arabi to death, would cover the English administration not only with discredit, but with something even worse, which, writing to you, I will not name." Arabi Pasha pleaded guilty at a "trial" lasting 3½ minutes, had his sentence of death commuted, and was exiled to Ceylon with his friends.

What degree of hypocrisy is needed even today by those defending the "legality" of the Suez Canal Convention "signed" in Constantinople in 1888 by Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Holland, Italy, Russia, Spain and Turkey? For six years British troops had had unquestioned command of Egypt. What degree of reality can govern the Sudan "treaty" of January 19, 1899, between the British and Egyptian Governments? And what value today could anyone seriously attach to the Twenty Years' "Treaty" of Alliance and Friendship of 1936? British troops had held Egypt in a vice for 54 years, but Mr. Eden enthusiastically "assured" the House "Even if the treaty is revised, such revision must provide for the continuance of the alliance, in accordance with the principles of Article 7." Only 10,000 British troops were to be allowed on Egyptian soil, but 80,000 honourably left in 1956, within the date promised in an agreement of 1954.

The intervening years do not provide any notable white roses. But the President's oft-stirred memory about 1942 deserves a reference. I was assured during my visits to King Farouk's palace by the principal secretary, the dignified Hussein Husny Bey, that he and other Egyptians had never wept as copiously as on February 4, 1942. Nokrashy Pasha, the Premier, spoke similar words to me, as did Ibrahim Abdul Hedy Pasha, head of the royal cabinet and later a successful Premier. About noon the king's head of household, English-educated Hassanin Pasha, had received an ultimatum, expiring at six o'clock: the ruler must agree to announce a cabinet chosen and headed by Nahas Pasha. Elder statesmen in Council told the boy ruler unanimously at 4 p.m. he must refuse the terms. Nahas was in Abdin Palace, and voted. At eight o'clock, after British tanks had

broken through the railings, and British troops surrounded the palace, Farouk gave way, in a scene as worthy of Grand Guignol as any I have ever described. He knew a British man-of-war awaited him for a journey to exile in the Seychelles, or Mauritius. Lord Killearn received the surrender with Major General Stone, our C in C, and *aides* with revolver in holster *

And the Suez disaster? In November 1955 the United Kingdom and the United States offered \$70 m for the first stage of the High Dam, the International Bank promised to lend \$200 m. President Nasser was due home in July 1956 from a visit with President Tito to Premier Nehru's villa on Brioni in Yugoslavia. Without notice Mr Foster Dulles announced, a few hours earlier, that because of Egypt's "unbalanced economy" and the absence of relations with riparian neighbours, the aid would not be given. Next day the tail in London wagged accord, and then the International Bank. The infuriated President Nasser nationalized the Canal company in a speech on July 24 at Mosorod. Mr Nutting told the Conservatives at Llandudno on October 11 "This is seizure, plunder, in flagrant breach of fundamental principles of international law." Sir Ivan Yates, MP, was booed for saying that the lack of policy by the State was "appalling."

My appointment with Ambassador Aboul-Fetouh for 3 pm on October 30 was postponed by his secretaries two hours earlier. He was to receive the ultimatum described in the harshest words of the century by Mr Nehru and other personages. Mr Fden may have traumatically recalled the directions of the British Government on January 4, 1884. "HM Government should, so long as the provisional occupation by English troops continues, be assured that the advice they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. . . it may be necessary that ministers and governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold office." For the Envoy of Egypt was told by M Pineau, of France, and by Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, that unless Egypt and Israel announced, inside twelve hours, willingness to withdraw their forces ten miles from the Canal, British and French forces would "intervene in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance." Next day British machines bombed Alexandria and sundry airfields. Lord Kilmuir, Lord Chancellor, said on November 11 "We have for the first time made UN take an effective interest in the difficult and dangerous area of the Middle East." The United Nations, by 64 to five (Mr Menzies's Australia, Israel, Britain, France and New Zealand) decided to call for an immediate cease-fire by Britain, France and Israel.

President Nasser noted that while dying Egyptians cried, and the world stood still in shame, that Russia threatened to send rockets to London, America threatened to stop credits needed urgently in London, and the Poles and Hungarians were front page news every morning and afternoon in London and New York papers. America's anger with Britain and France was a mystery. But today the untold, unexplained, drama means less to a world rightly acclaiming President Nasser as a man of courage and high destiny.

* *Cairo to Riyadh Diary* George Bilainkin, London, 1951

YEMEN IN GEOPOLITICS

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ANCIENT YEMEN, once part of the Kingdom of Saba (Sheba), a wealthy country (but only for those "running" it), is, as the Bible records in the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, on the caravan route between Africa and the East. It has been more or less an independent state for the whole of its recorded history, since about 950 BC. Conquered by Ethiopians and Persians in the sixth and seventh centuries, Yemen was converted later to Mohammedanism. The pre-1962 ruling dynasty traced its ancestry from ninth century rulers, the Rassites of the Zaidi (Sayyid) sect. But with the exception of the Ottoman occupations (1538-1630 and 1849-1918), in which the governors were, however, seldom able to establish their authority in the highlands, Yemen has remained isolated from the outside world. Lying in the clutch of spectacular mountains, hemmed in by the Red Sea and Saudi Arabia's blistered sands, Yemenis had, until late, chosen to keep their past—and present—to themselves. Few nations besides Tibet have sought more isolation. Between the visit of Christen Niebuhr, father of the famous Danish historian, in the eighteenth century and the arrival of foreign technicians in 1955, only about a dozen Christians had been able to report that they had visited Yemen. None was allowed to travel freely and mix with the people.

The Geographic Backbone

Near the south-western tip of the Arabian Peninsula, next to Aden, Yemen put its first foot forward into the world in 1947 to become a United Nations member. One of the most beautiful countries in the Middle East, Yemen (with the exception of the narrow coastal strip of the Tihama along the Red Sea) is blessed rather generously with lush highlands of undulating, terraced hills and high plateaus encircling green valleys, which remind the visitor of the Lebanese mountain fastness, the climate is pleasant and invigorating, although the Red Sea coast is always very hot and humid, especially from March to October, but temperatures decrease and rainfall increases in the highlands. Yemen's 75,290 sq miles and the estimated population of 5,000,000 (in 1959), in contrast to much of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula with its sandy deserts, can boast of 10,000 foot peaks, and unlike the desert areas, has water for agriculture where a high grade of coffee, called Mocha, is grown. (Though it is also a production of other lands, this type of coffee may have originated in Yemen.) Grapes grow in terrace vineyards on slopes of the lower mountains, grain and cattle are raised too, and the most productive farming zone is at the 4,500 foot level and is the mainstay of the national economy. The highlands produce large quantities of fruit and vegetables. These include apricots, bananas, citrus fruits, pomegranates, almonds,

olives, onions, tomatoes, carrots and 18 different kinds of grapes; alfafa, tobacco and indigo are also grown. Cereals make up the principal crops on the plateau and on the irrigated plains along the coast. Yemen, when not bothered with political troubles, is generally self-sufficient and, during years when rainfall is plentiful, is able to export cereals. The main cereals are corn and a kind of sorghum called *dura*. Other crops include millet, wheat, barley and oats. But insufficient rainfall and difficulty of irrigation limit cultivation along the coastal plain. Agricultural experts have been making special efforts to expand Yemen's cotton production.

There are practically no modern industries in Yemen, but there are skilled craftsmen who turn out textile, leather and metal products on a small scale in their homes. Since railroads are non-existent and roads few, most goods are still transported by camel and donkey caravans. Such industry as Yemen possesses is concerned with consumer needs; the country has fishing, soap, cement, rope-making, textile and leather industries on a small scale; the Government has enlisted foreign aid to build a spinning and weaving mill to process local cotton. But only a few trucks share the bad roads with goats, camels and donkeys. Drinking water must be boiled. Night travellers often pull up sharp, startled by baboons that menace them with rocks for intruding.

The Kingdom boasts of impressive quantities of water for agriculture, though water shortages blight much of neighbouring north and east Africa and the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, streams and large rivers slash Yemen's valleys. Bubbling springs are numerous and wells are easily sunk, and Yemenis irrigate by terracing valleys and hillsides. (Scientific water conservation would enable Yemen to boost its population.)

The walled city of Taiz (some 12,000 inhabitants) is the administrative centre of this small country. San'a (some 60,000 people) has long been the royal residence as well as the commercial and educational hub. Helmsmen often steer for Hodeida, the Kingdom's chief port, passing strange coastal towns, Luhaiya, Fazih, Maushij or Mocha (port of that fine coffee), in fact, ships plow endlessly the Red Sea coast, Yemen's long exclusive door (Yemen meets the Aden Protectorate at Bab el Mandeb, the 20 mile-wide strait separating the Arabian Peninsula from Africa.)

Skyscrapers, claim the Yemenis, originated in Yemen, and four or five-storey buildings stand in the capital, suggesting Western apartment houses. (Ruins have been found of a palace which seems to have been 20 stories high; even today many of the Yemenis like to live in tall buildings; they construct towers and use the top floors as homes.)

The People

The population is equally divided between Zaidis (Shi'is) and Shafi'is (Sunnis). The Shi'is claim that they are a majority. There is an Isma'ili minority of about 50,000, mostly in the south. (Until 1949 there was a Jewish community of about 10,000, which has since left for Israel.) The tribes, most of them settled, are an important factor in the political and social life; of the 74 major tribes, 40 are Zaidis, the rest belonging to the Shafi' sect.

The social pyramid is composed of three main classes. The Sayyids, descendants of the family of the Prophet, usually hold the highest positions. The Qadis (an honorific rather than a professional designation) are state functionaries and come from the upper socio-economic structure of urban society, and the *ammah*, the common people, form the bulk of the population. When not under a corrupt régime, the lot of the *ammah* normally, in spite of heavy taxation by the Imam, is rather tolerable, especially in the more fertile highlands. But diseases are prevalent, illiteracy is enormous, and famines come often, since communications are difficult and, until recently, the only roads were those connecting the seaport of Hodeidah with San'a, and the Aden Protectorate with the towns in southern Yemen. (Telephone and radio communications have appeared in the country only recently.)

The Corrupt Régime of Ahmed Ibn Yahya Hamid Ed-Din

Ahmed came to the throne in 1948 as an absolute ruler; many of his subjects believed that he possessed supernatural powers. But he acted like a Borgia Pope. He had a minimum of five diseases in various stages of arrested development (rheumatism, heart trouble, bilharziasis, gastritis, syphilis), but this did not preclude his devouring huge meals consisting of such specialities as Russian salad heavily splashed with mayonnaise (He was apparently cured from his drug addiction.) During his rule of 11 years this 300-pound, black-bearded monarch had the power of life or death over any of his subjects. No man in his country could undertake any project of importance without the Imam's express consent; and such was his power that all men had to wait for his consent.

Planes were grounded for days, even weeks, because they could not take off without the Imam's specific orders. Doctors went without rubber gloves for weeks because their request for them had to be routed through the Imam himself; all orders for spare parts for Yemen's airplanes had to be passed on by the Imam who, if he approved, placed the order through his own commercial agent abroad. Ministers needed the Imam's personal permission for practically every move. Since there was no long-distance telephone in the country, these officials, when needing the Imam's approval, had to fly to the hot springs and wait their turn to see him—sometimes several days. There was no Prime Minister; there was nobody with the title of General in the army. The national treasury belonged to him as a sort of privy purse, out of which he paid the nation's expenses; the job of Finance Minister, incidentally, was retained by the Imam himself.

Yemeni justice, too, was his personal business. A court astrologer wielded tremendous influence. The Imam also had a court jester and poet to help entertain him. No Yemeni was allowed to leave his village or town or even to walk in the streets between 10 p.m. and sunrise. At sundown the streets were also deserted because the Imam required every Yemeni to go to a mosque to pray at that time. Shops were also shuttered tight, the police hurried the laggards to the mosques by whacking them over the heads and shoulders with light, flexible sticks. Executions, the penalty for murder or treason, were usually public. Some 40 unfortunates

were beheaded with swords on the football field in Taiz after an attempted revolution in 1955. The Imam had their heads hung on the branches of trees as a warning. Persons found guilty of adultery were sewn into a sack and stoned to death. Public whippings, up to 80 lashes for a man and 60 for a woman, were decreed for other crimes. When citizens were slow to pay taxes, troops were billeted in their homes until they paid up. Prisoners were chained, including schoolboys. There was slavery on a small scale on the farms of Yemen's sandy and malarial Red Sea coast, and in the Imam's own household (slaves holding positions of responsibility and even titles)¹

Governing by means of subsidies, spies and executioner's axe, decapitating more than a thousand enemies, he had three wives and 40 concubines, and, like many Yemenis, chewed *qat*, narcotic shrub similar to marijuana, and switched to morphine in 1953, breaking the habit six years later.

The use of *qat* in Yemen could explain, in a way, the reason for this obese ruler's survival for eleven years in spite of numerous plots and attempts to assassinate him. There was no entertainment of any kind, no music, no movies, no games, no cafés. Yemenis found compensation in this national tranquilizer, *Catha edulis forsk*, which, when chewed, acts upon the cerebrum and spinal cord, producing a sense of happiness and physical well-being similar to that caused by hashish or marijuana. It is grown in large quantities in Yemen. Although most of it is consumed locally, enough is exported to nearby areas to rank it among the country's largest cash products. "It is no exaggeration to say that the entire population of Yemen, from Imam to poorest peasant, is under the influence of *qat* every day between the hours of two and six . . . No study has yet been made of this astonishing social phenomenon, but there seems little doubt that addiction to *qat* exercises a deep psychological, economic and political influence on Yemeni life."²

Thus Ahmed Ibn Yahya Mohammed Hamid Ed-Din, Lord over Life and Death, Prince of the Believers, the Big Turban, Imam of Yemen, last of the warrior kings, ruled, and was also known as the gross, 300-pound Ahmed "the Devil". His annual income was about \$16 million, but his expenditures were 21 million, and his country, formerly the granary of Arabia, had to buy wheat and butter from abroad. The exports of Mocha coffee had dropped from some 25,000 tons to 12,000, and in 1961 to 5,000 tons. Starved and graft-ridden, Yemen's more aggressive citizens chose to emigrate, and for years many looked for work abroad rather than live under their King's heavy hand; they form the biggest single group in the British colony of Aden; many have taken to the sea for a living, Cardiff has one of the major Yemeni colonies outside the Arab world. (These expatriates became among the most articulate champions of change at home, expressing themselves politically through a "Free Yemeni" movement.) But there were not enough of them, so to speak, to influence the people at home, since only 1 per cent of Yemen's population attended primary school, and 30 per cent of this "educated" group suffered from pellagra. Infant mortality up to two years of age ran to 58 per cent, one of the worst in the world; there were only three hospitals in the whole

country, two high schools and a primitive military academy. Trachoma was rampant, malaria was taken for granted. There was no basic administration, no records were kept; there was only one bank, and the Austrian-minted Maria Theresa silver thaler, called in Yemen the *riyal*, served for all transactions.

On the Road to Revolution

An era ended when this absolute monarch died on September 19, 1962; his 35-year-old son, former Crown Prince Saif al-Islam Mohammed al-Badr, took over. But the new 35-year-old ruler was not popular with Yemeni tribal leaders, he had talked political reform in the past but was held in check by his father. The San'a radio reported that the new monarch would rule under the name of Almansour Billah Mohammed Bin Ahmed Hamid Uldin, his only rival, at that moment, was Prince Saif al-Islam al-Hassan, the late Imam's next younger brother, living in the United States. He was known for being notably cool to the West, particularly to Britain in her rôle as protector to the neighbouring Aden territories. He had visited both the Soviet Union and Communist China in recent years. The new Imam sat shakily on the throne, as the Crown Prince, for four months in 1959, while his father underwent medical treatment in Rome, taking a huge retinue with him. He started a number of reforms, but the Imam returned, cancelled the reforms and threw agitators into prison, or had them beheaded in public with a scimitar. Mohammed al-Badr moved into semi-retirement.

Then a revolution exploded, aimed originally at the feudalistic régime of Ahmed the Devil. Ten days, after the new ruler ascended on the throne, Colonel Abdel Kader al-Sallal surrounded the royal palace in San'a with 4,000 soldiers and attacked it with tank guns. The conspirators believed, at first, that the ruler was killed, but learned later that, supposedly, Badr had escaped, disguised as a Bedouin woman, to Saudi Arabia, where King Saud, collaborating with Jordan's King Hussein, offered him money, men and munitions to get rid of Sallal.

Geopolitical Importance

The location and the situation of Yemen are of greater importance to the area, as well as to such great powers as the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, than its size or resources would indicate.

King Saud and King Hussein took Badr's side simply because they feared that Yemen's revolution, promising to carry through all kinds of reforms, might offer contagious ideas to some of their liberal-minded subjects. King Saud was so upset by the desertion of four of his force planes to Egypt that he resigned as Premier and appointed Crown Prince Feisal, a tough-minded nationalist, interested in austerity and reform, as the head of the Government.

Historically, Yemen has been sharply involved in East-West tensions in the last few years. The late Imam vigorously opposed Britain and tried to have the British ousted from the Aden Protectorate. In January 1958, Yemen and Communist China reached agreement on scientific,

technical and cultural co-operation, and on the establishment of diplomatic relations. A statement issued then by Crown Prince Saif and Premier Chou En-lai condemned the activities of colonial powers in the Middle East, and supported Yemen's position in the border dispute with Aden. Peking radio announced that China would lend Yemen 70 million Swiss francs over a ten-year period to meet the costs of material and equipment, supplied by China, for the building of roads, a sugar factory and refinery, textile mills and an aluminiumware plant. On July 2, 1958, the Crown Prince admitted that there was a continuous flow of arms from the USSR into Yemen. Soviet engineers were already building facilities at Hodeida to make it a naval and submarine base.

On March 8, 1958, a federal union, the United Arab States, involving Yemen and the new United Arab Republic, was announced. Each State preserved its identity, but there was to be unified control and direction in matters of foreign and economic policy and defence, a Supreme Council of Union was to consist of the heads of state and a Federal Council of six representatives from each, and councils for defence, economic questions and cultural matters were to be attached to the Federal Council. When Nasser worked closely with the USSR, Yemen did too, receiving shipments of arms as well as a military mission and assistance from Red China. When Nasser turned against Communists, Yemeni mobs displayed hostility toward the Soviets and Chinese. But, meanwhile, Russia had shipped in some T34 tanks, Yak fighter planes and small arms to Yemen. Ahmed let them rust. Crown Prince Badr was importing Egyptian teachers, Czech technicians and Yugoslav pilots and maintenance crews. Ahmed deported them. Red China constructed a showcase road from the port of Hodeida to the capital. It soon began to fall apart.

During this period, when an acute famine threatened the country early in 1959, Yemen received emergency shipments of wheat from the US. (The US established diplomatic relations with Yemen on May 11, 1947. The Kingdom was admitted to the UN on September 30, 1947.)

The deliveries of Soviet arms to Yemen are obviously a potential threat to one of the world's highly strategic sectors—the Red and Arabian Seas. Soviet control of Aden would be a position of threat to the West; that strip of land under British protection controls the routes that in an emergency would bring oil to Europe from the Persian Gulf around Africa. (How vital that route is was shown when Anglo-French hostilities against Egypt led to the closing of the Suez Canal.) Nor, when considering the Soviet menace, must the importance of the port of Aden be forgotten, since it is becoming the greatest bunkering port in the world, its bunkering now exceeding that of New York. It is a vital fueling point for ships on the Asian, African and Mediterranean routes.

The Red Sea is an area of tension. For the first time small war fleets are being permanently established there. Taking advantage of their control over the Sinai Peninsula at the time of the war against Egypt, the Israelis have established a naval squadron at their port of Elath at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. However small, the Israeli squadron at Elath is the strongest on the Red Sea.

The Saudi Arabians recently established, it has been reported, a small fleet with US help, Ethiopia has pressed in Washington for the construction of naval bases. The Egyptians are said to have a few warships in the Red Sea, the rumour is that Soviet technicians are surveying the coast with a view to establishing a submarine base.

Concerned with the future of this area of great strategic importance, the USA have been showing the flag in recent years, a Red Sea task force has been established as part of the US Sixth Fleet (consisting of a seaplane tender, serving as flagship, two to four destroyers and some patrol planes). In addition, the US Navy has a Commander in the Middle East Force, subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces in the Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, and with some responsibility to the Joint Chiefs of Staff; this command is small, but it serves as a reminder of American interest in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea.

Contemporary Trends—Fluidity

The contemporary situation is in an extremely fluid stage. On October 13, 1962, President Nasser of Egypt pledged moral and material support to the military government that overthrew in September the new Imam of Yemen just one week after his succession to the throne, while the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Jordan were giving open support to royalist tribes opposing the revolutionary régime. The revolution was giving President Nasser an opportunity to establish a new foothold in Asian areas of the Arab world. The success of a pro-Nasser revolutionary Government in Yemen would encourage his sympathizers in Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

In Washington there was a worry that Yemen intervention might touch off another war in the Middle East. Thus far the US has not recognized the new Government, in deference to the views of Britain and Arabia. London, with oil interests in Yemen, supports a royalist régime and feels that the new Government is under obligation to President Nasser. Saudi Arabia, where are large private UK oil investments, wants the US to withhold recognition.

The situation is further complicated by broadcasts reporting that de-throned Imam Mohammed al-Badr is still alive and carrying on the fight. The broadcast said that he had taken over command from his uncle, Prince Saif al-Islam al-Hassan, chief Yemeni delegate to the UN, who had rushed back to claim the title after reports of the Imam's death, killed in the revolution. Prince al-Hassan has claimed the throne since September 26, when army rebels announced the slaying of Imam Mohammed al-Badr. He was reported leading royalist tribesmen in a counter-offensive from Saudi Arabia and Northern Yemen. Meanwhile, Brig. Abdullah al-Sallal, the revolutionary Premier, has been pressing the US and Britain to extend recognition, the Communist bloc has done so, and the rebels have accused the British of allowing royalist supporters in the adjacent Aden Protectorate to invade Yemen. Moscow and Peking have recognized the new régime.

Thus, all in all, at stake is a wild corner of the Arabian Peninsula strategically located next to Britain's Crown Colony of Aden, with the

USSR, Red China, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan competing for the control of the country. Who will come out on top remains anybody's guess.

The revolution has planted, for the first time in the vast Arabian Peninsula, a régime that is republican and "liberally-minded" (although ideology is quite relative in this context). Elsewhere in Arabia, save in Aden, where British colonial rule continues, government is monarchical and medieval. One, therefore, cannot be surprised that the kings and princely rulers of the Arab world are worried and do not like the uprising.

There is no evidence that Nasser directly instigated the revolt; but the events there must be seen in the context of the struggle that he has been waging as a champion of "Arab socialism" against the forces of traditionalism represented by such rulers as King Saud and the late Imam Ahmed. Unfortunately for the West, Yemen's fortunes are of high significance to the West—and to the Soviet Empire. The United States is involved in the giant holdings of the Arabian-American Oil Co (ARAMCO) in Saudi Arabia, Britain wants to maintain its Aden Colony and the Protectorate which forms its hinterland. For Washington, the problem is to find a course which would not jeopardize the position of ARAMCO, no matter who rules Saudi Arabia, for Britain, the road ahead is even more difficult. In the West Aden Protectorate, the local feudal rulers, linked in the British-sponsored Federation of the Arab Emirates (Principalities) of the South, feel as threatened by events in Yemen as does King Saud, they would be upset by British recognition of the republican administration in San'a. Britain currently plans to bring Aden Colony into federal association with the Emirates. Strong resistance to the plan comes from those groups within the Colony which sympathize most with the latest trends in Yemen and which now feel encouraged by it; they would resent any steps showing British hostility to the men in San'a. A more long-term difficulty is Yemen's old claim to Aden Colony and Protectorate which the new republican régime will probably revive in the future.

And as for the Soviet bloc, whatever happens, it is quite sure to gain simply by fishing in troubled waters.

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- ² Sharabi, H B, *Governments and Politics of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century*, D Van Nostrand Co, Princeton, NJ, 1962, p 245

THE DESTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY*

PROFESSOR FREDERICK HERTZ

THE breaking-up of the Danubian Empire after the First World War forms an historic problem of the first magnitude, and a valuable contribution to its understanding has now been made by Mr Harry Hanak. The subject of his book is the discussion on the proposed dismemberment of Austria-Hungary in England during the First Great War. He has collected ample material. He has presented them in a clear, impartial and instructive way, though his views on conditions in the old Austria are sometimes not correct. This is illustrated in his criticism of Brailsford's opinions (p. 144). The principal advocates of dismemberment were Wickham Steed and Seton Watson. Brailsford, the Buxtons and several editors of Liberal journals opposed this policy. Steed's main argument was that the Empire was a satellite of Germany and must be destroyed in order to bar her eastward expansion. This argument seems to have been decisive. But would a Danubian Confederation, in which the German-Austrians would hardly have formed more than a third of the population after Germany's defeat, have been a tool of German Imperialism?

More than forty years have passed since those discussions. We are now able to form a much more definite opinion on the causes and consequences of Austria-Hungary's dismemberment. I have done so in various books†, and could make use in them also of much personal experience during more than 65 years, ever since I began to follow politics in the former Empire. In contrast to most Austrians, I was always aware of the fact that Austrian policy in the situation of 1914 was most unfortunate, and that the German General Staff, by the disastrous and strategically unnecessary invasion of Belgium, replaced a politically defensive war against Russian Pan Slavism with an aggressive war against the Western Powers. Pan Germanism always appeared to me as a terrible menace and I had already combatted it in 1902 in my book on the Boer War. I still have Conan Doyle's letter of March 5, 1902, in which he said that he thanked me for it with all his heart, in his own name and, he was sure, in the name of every Englishman fighting in Africa. He ordered 600 copies of that book to be sent to German statesmen and politicians. In 1905 I began to edit a weekly, *The Way* (meaning the way to the conciliation of the Austrian nationalities). A main collaborator was Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, who belonged to the advisory committee of the journal, together with representatives of various nationalities of Old Austria.

The fundamental error of the advocates of dismemberment was the belief that the Austrian Government in our age oppressed most of the ten or more nationalities, followed a centralizing and Germanizing policy, or was "a prison of subject peoples". The truth was that each of the nationalities had a section of rabid nationalists hostile to people of another

* *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary during the First World War. A Study in the Formation of Public Opinion.* Harry Hanak. Oxford University Press. 42s.

† cf. *Nationality in History and Politics*, 1944, pp. 196, 202. *The Economic Problem of the Danubian States*, 1947. *Nationalgeist und Politik*, I, pp. 337-438.

language, living in the same territory, and harassing them, as far as they could. The Austrian Constitution, in Article 19, laid down the principle that all nationalities were equal and that nobody must be compelled to use language other than his own. In the last half century of the Empire, the Government managed to implement this principle to a very great extent by legislative and administrative means overcoming the obstinate resistance of the chauvinists of all nationalities.

A brief survey may substantiate this statement. In 1867 the Crown, with Parliamentary consent, accorded to the Hungarians full independence, though some common affairs were to be regulated by common organs subject to the agreement of both Parliaments. A year later, the national rights of Croatia, and of the nationalities in Hungary, were settled in a very liberal way. As is generally known, the universal rise of nationalism later induced the Hungarian Government to violate some of these arrangements, and the Crown felt long unable to interfere. Already before the Austro-Hungarian Settlement, the *Ausgleich*, the Crown had begun to grant the Poles by successive decrees what eventually amounted to practically full autonomy. Since this settlement, most Poles were loyal members of the Empire, and were often called "the only Austrian patriots". The interest of the Ruthenes gravely suffered under the reign of the Poles, yet their majority remained loyal to the Crown. The Emperor repeatedly tried to bring about a Polish-Ruthenian agreement. Success was achieved shortly before the war.

A most important question was how to satisfy the national aspirations of the Czechs. The *Ausgleich* induced them to strive for an independence similar to that of the Hungarians, but this was hardly possible, as, in the course of time, most of them realized. Nevertheless, Emperor Francis Joseph, in 1871, issued a manifesto declaring his willingness to fulfil Czech wishes to a great extent, provided that they could be reconciled with his solemn obligations to other nationalities. The Czechs hailed his resolution. They co-operated in the elaboration of detailed projects which formed a model of national justice. The Hungarians and Germans, however, who were more than three times as numerous as the Czechs, aroused a storm of opposition which ruined the whole plan. Eight years later, the Emperor made his close confidant, Count Taaffe, whose ancestors were Irish, Prime Minister. He formed a government backed by the Slav parties and by a small faction of German Conservatives, while the great majority of the Germans formed the opposition.

The most prominent ministers were Poles and Czechs, and Taaffe remained Prime Minister for fourteen years. He achieved numerous significant reforms, guided by the principle of national and social justice, and, at last, wanted to introduce manhood franchise. This, however, was rejected by the great majority of the Parliament and he had to resign. The long reign of a Slav-Conservative coalition promoted the rise of a radical nationalism among the Germans. A further attempt to bring about German-Czech agreement on all national questions was made in 1889. It failed owing to the electoral victory of a radical Czech party which ousted the more conciliatory conservative Czechs.

In 1895 Count Badeni, a Pole, became Prime Minister. He enlarged the franchise and wanted to fulfil certain national demands of the Czechs. He was frustrated by the German radical nationalists, whose demagoguery unleashed violent riots. The following years saw a long series of parliamentary difficulties in which the Germans and Slavs were alternating in obstruction. Many very reasonable bills to settle national conflicts foundered. Nevertheless, there was steady progress in redressing national grievances. At last, in 1907, a very democratic franchise was introduced in the hope that the representatives of the broad masses would put social reforms and peace between the nations above the constant uproar about such questions as whether the street signs in a town of mixed nationality, or the directions before a public lavatory, should be in two languages or in one only, or whether some subaltern official should be of this or that nationality. The Emperor had greatly contributed to the electoral reform by inducing the conservative elements in both Houses to accept it. He had also compelled the ruling Hungarian politicians to promise him a similar reform of the franchise which would have greatly increased the power of the non-Magyars.

The intransigent nationalists were, in Austria, a minority of the politicians, but they often intimidated the moderate and conciliatory MPs by a demagoguery which made them fear that they might lose votes. In the last negotiations between the Czechs and Germans over a settlement of their disagreements, the most prominent leader of the Czechs, Dr Kramar, declared that the walls separating them had become as thin as paper. Dr Benes, later the co-founder of Czechoslovakia, wrote in 1908 "People have often spoken of a dismemberment of Austria. I don't believe in it at all. The historical and economic bonds between the Austrian nations are too powerful to make such a dismemberment possible. The introduction of the general franchise and the democratization of Austria, especially of Bohemia, prepare the soil for national peace."

How "enslaved" were the Czechs in old Austria is shown by the following figures: Their share in the population was 23 per cent, in Members of Parliament 21 per cent, in Cabinet Ministers (1900-1914) 19 per cent, in officials 24.9 per cent. They also possessed very great wealth, a flourishing agriculture, big industries and great banks. This shows how well-informed was Lloyd George, when he said in a speech after the war, that the Czechs had been so oppressed by Austria that they could only become coalminers.

The endless noisy quarrels between national fanatics promoted the view that Austria-Hungary would soon go to pieces, and its enemies were encouraged to hatch aggressive plans against the Empire. Yet there is no doubt that in Austria the great majority did not feel greatly oppressed in their national affairs. Nor were they revolutionary-minded. In Hungary tensions were more acute and grievances justified, but here, too, a great change could reasonably be expected. The war naturally created deep bitterness and radical discontent, which called for fundamental reforms.

An adequate discussion of the Empire's dismemberment would require much more space. But it must be emphasized that it was not self-

determination which killed Austria-Hungary but, on the contrary, the denial of self-determination. The Allies had already in their secret treaties made promises incompatible with self-determination, and in the peace treaties they often violated this principle very gravely. The Bohemian countries were a momentous example. If self-determination had not been denied to non-Czechs in Czechoslovakia, the different nationalities would almost certainly have chosen to remain together on a federal basis. The same would have happened in many other territories of the Danubian Empire. The peace treaties, however, brought about the hacking to pieces of the broad Common Market of Austria-Hungary, the outbreak of economic catastrophe in all the new states, the poisoning of the political atmosphere, the rise of dictators and, eventually, of Hitler, and at last the unspeakable crime of the expulsion of many millions from their homelands, and the conversion of the new states into Soviet satellites.

PATTISON *Liberals and Education Concluded from Page 287*

If the aim is to eliminate privilege, a few expensive places in schools that remain privileged will not achieve the aim but will be merely a source of acrimony, as selection has usually turned out to be. It is important that nothing should be done which suggests that the national system must always be inferior to institutions outside it. There is, in fact, no evidence that independent schools have any special educational value except such as comes from their greater resources, enabling them to be more generously staffed. Their teachers are often untrained, they have not been notable for the serious study of education, and their contribution to educational thinking has seldom risen above advertising slogans about the formation of character, the ideal of service and training for responsibility (or leadership—whichever happens to be fashionable). Given comparable resources, maintained schools could do at least as well in purely educational terms, and that is the only way to get rid of privilege, though it may not get rid of irrational social preferences. Genuine equality of opportunity can be achieved only by giving parents as much choice as possible in a national system and determining that the education it provides will be the best available—in other words, making it unnecessary to go outside it and against one's interests to do so. That is the radical solution to what is really a social rather than educational problem. Resources should not be diverted from the improvement of the maintained system, from the education of over 90 per cent of the population. Sharing privileges more widely—and it could not be much more widely—will not help to break down privilege nor to discover the latent talent and skill which must be released throughout society to equip it to live in the second half of the twentieth century. To strengthen the teaching force in the maintained system is the first objective. If it can be done, a general advance will be possible. It will be a hard enough task, but it is the one to concentrate on during the next ten years.

FORUM FEATURE—

BANK HOLIDAYS AND SIR JOHN LUBBOCK

ERIC LUBBOCK, MP

“THERE has been an increasing tendency of late years among all classes to find excuses for holydays” There seems to be a faint note of disapproval in this comment of *The Times* on the first August Bank Holiday in 1871, but the writer goes on to point out that previously the traditional holidays had all been concentrated in one half of the year, and on none of them was there a reasonable prospect of fine weather It just so happens that the chief Christian festivals fall in winter and spring, and “it is not the least curious instance of the supremacy of custom over reason that the best (*sic*) half of the year should have been thus neglected”

The Bank Holiday Act of 1871, which corrected this imbalance, was the first recorded example of a holiday created by the legislature for the enjoyment of the people Its author, Sir John Lubbock, had stated that one of his main objects in seeking election to Parliament was to secure some additional holidays He certainly wasted no time in redeeming the promise, for the Act was passed in the year following his return as Liberal member for the constituency of Maidstone The notes in his diary, which I have before me as I write, would perhaps make a present day politician envious of the easy passage which a private member's bill could have in those days:—

Feb 23 I have brought in two bills, one to make some Bank holidays and one to amend the Endowed Schools Act

Mar 15 Passed the second reading of my Bank Holiday Bill

Mar 29 It passed through Committee without a single alteration

Mar 31 It passed third reading

May 19 At 2 this morning I got the House to consider the Lords' amendments to the Bank Holiday Bill, though it had only that evening come down from the Lords, and also to adopt them, so that the Bill now only wants the Queen's assent, which we shall no doubt get in time for Whimondy. The House was very kind and would have been counted out, if Government had not kept a House to get my Bill through

The first August Bank Holiday was widely acclaimed as a great success “It is impossible to rate overmuch the blessing of the holiday of the 7th of August,” said the *News of the World* The *Daily Telegraph* suggested the name of St Lubbock's day for the holiday “The people,” the writer said, “may forget a great many deeds of glory and names of renown, but they will never forget him who has given them a new and universal day of repose and recreation.” Sir John himself tells us that “the day was splendid, and the holiday very generally kept Every seaside place near London, every railway and place of amusement was chockfull Eight excursion trains went to Margate alone The S E Railway had only prepared for two, indeed, the railways and hotelkeepers were altogether taken by surprise” In coping with the unexpected demand, they at least showed a flexibility which Dr Beeching would do well to emulate •

There were, it is true, a few killjoys who objected to the whole idea of the Bank Holiday, and they did so mainly on the grounds that it would

encourage people to drink more than was good for them "He endowed the country with four compulsory days of idleness and thus diminished the work without improving the morals of the community," said one acid commentator. Another maintained that between a fourth and an eighth of the "poorer classes" were drunk before the end of the day, although no evidence was produced to support the assertion. There was no truth in these criticisms, and the *Illustrated London News* remarked of the first August Bank Holiday that "not a tipsy or ill-conducted person could be seen" This did not prevent the same criticism from being made every year until one diligent enquirer persuaded the General Manager of the S E Railway to have a count made of the number of drunks at all the stations on Easter Monday in 1883. The total amounted to three at Charing Cross, one at Cannon Street and two at London Bridge. This gave great satisfaction to Sir John, who maintained that people quarrel and break the law not when they are happy and enjoying themselves, but when they are suffering and miserable.

The enjoyment of the whole people was the purpose of the Bank Holidays Act, and it was never intended to apply solely to the Banks as some people have asserted. The Act expressly provided that "no person shall be compellable to do any act on a Bank Holiday which he would not be compelled to do on a Christmas Day or Good Friday." Sir John always believed that the August holiday would become the most universally popular one in the whole year, and so indeed it has. Why then was it given a name which suggested that it was restricted to the Banks alone?

It seems that the reason was a technical one. It was a question of the day on which a bill becomes payable, and the Act provides for a difference from the procedure which applied to the old religious holidays. One may suspect, too, that the innocuous name was chosen partly with an eye to disarming the potential opposition. "If we had called them National Holidays or General Holidays," says Sir John, "we thought that it would perhaps call too much attention to the proposed change."

Unfortunately there are still people who oppose change for no better reason than "that's the way it's always been" and this is just as true of holidays as it is of other aspects of our national life. If Sir John were alive today he would be the first to agree that reform of Britain's holidays is overdue. He would surely be amazed by our tolerance of ten mile traffic jams and of the discomfort which is endured by millions jammed elbow to buttock on every beach.

Some people have suggested that the August Bank Holiday should be abolished, and that an extra day should be added to the statutory holiday period in lieu. Others have proposed that it should be taken at some other time of the year, by agreement between employer and employee. These solutions ignore the fact that one of the main reasons for the popularity of Bank Holidays is that they are on fixed days. Not only does this help people to make their arrangements in advance, but it has the further advantage that friends and relations working in different industries can reckon on getting away together. To withdraw this benefit would halve the value of the holiday.

An alternative suggestion would be to create an additional holiday, as Lubbock suggested in 1900. Although statutory holidays were pioneered in Britain, today we have many fewer than other countries such as France and Australia. If we had another day in the summer, some people would prefer to remain at home on August Monday, spending it quietly with their families, and this would relieve the congestion on the roads and at the holiday resorts for the remainder. I am convinced that this suggestion would meet with the approval of the general public, and also of the trades-people, caterers and hoteliers who would be less dependent on the earnings of a single day.

As to the question of the best date for the additional holiday, that could be settled by consultation between different interests such as the Trade Unions and Employers, the motoring organizations and local authorities of seaside towns. Sir John's suggestion was that it should be in June or July, and he cited the precedent of 1897, when June 22 was declared a Bank Holiday in honour of the Queen's Silver Jubilee.

This particular date, however, would be rather too close to Whitmonday, and anyhow it would be better to choose a Monday or a Friday rather than a fixed date, so as to give people an uninterrupted break of three days and cause as little dislocation to production as possible. There is also the point that the gap between Whitmonday and the August holiday is a shorter one than between August Monday and Christmas, and so a day in early September just before the children go back to school might be a better solution.

I dare say the Government will not display much enthusiasm for an additional holiday, and much pressure will have to be exerted on them if the idea is to stand a chance of being accepted. We shall probably have beaten the Tories at a General Election before that happens! In nine years' time we shall be celebrating the centenary of the first Bank Holiday—and what better way could there be of commemorating it by the Liberal Administration of 1971, than by adding another to the calendar!

NOTE—*The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sir John Lubbock (Baron Avebury) falls on May 28, 1963*—EDITOR

THE PLANTS OF CHRISTMAS

S. A. MANNING

FLS, Fellow of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Author of "The Right Way to Understand the Countryside", "Broadland Naturalist", "Trees and Forests"

IT is perhaps inevitable that naturalists and many countryfolk should be saddened by the sight of people ransacking the woods for berried holly and other greenery at Christmastide. Yet this custom gives us an opportunity of seeing something of these plants of woods and orchards and of recalling some of the lore surrounding them.

Nowadays, holly is valued in decorations because its dark green foliage makes a perfect foil for the glossy, scarlet berries. We no longer find it necessary to have any other reason for decking our homes with this prickly evergreen, but our forbears knew exactly why they used it in this way.

Holly, they believed, would defend the house from lightning and put a stop to the antics of goblins, witches and demons. When such superstitions fell into disrepute, the holly's thorny leaves could be regarded as representing the Crown of Thorns and its berries drops of blood.

Of course, the holly produces its foliage and berries for very different purposes. The leaves, like those of every other green plant, act as food-factories, and the berries contain seeds, whose function is to increase the species.

Our Christmas holly may help us to observe that there are often two kinds of leaves, prickly ones from the lower branches and others with more or less smooth margins from nearer the top of the tree. The value of the sharp spines is evident when one considers that such creatures as sheep and deer are very fond of holly leaves. They are not the only forms of animal life to enjoy them, and if holly leaves are examined carefully many of them will be seen to be decorated with blotch-mines made by the grubs of a tiny fly, the holly leaf-miner, which feeds within the leaves.

Such birds as pheasants and blackbirds relish the berries and, as if to show their appreciation, often drop the seeds far from the trees that bore them. Those who admire the holly must be grateful to birds for setting its seeds like this because people do not seem to plant much of it now.

Three hundred years ago, John Evelyn, "the father of English forestry", complained of the neglect of this "vulgar but incomparable" tree. Most people still ignore it, and too often we find it as a bush in the shade of other trees, where it does not develop as a tree or produce much of its strong and tough, white timber, whose fine, uniform texture is greatly appreciated by those who work with woods.

The woody stems of ivy have no such value, but this evergreen climber has long been linked with holly, as in the well-known carol, *The holly and the ivy*.

The use of shiny, dark green ivy foliage in Christmas decorations appears to be slowly coming back into fashion, and many people now use various forms of the growing plant as household decorations throughout the year. This is an interesting development because ivy has its roots deep in the history of mankind.

Ivy was, of course, the emblem of Bacchus. An ivy crown formed the prize of honour for a successful poet, and a wreath of ivy, a symbol of the closeness of the marriage partnership, was the Greek priest's present to a newly-married couple.

In Britain, ivy was thought to share with holly the power of protecting those who hung it in their homes. This did not prevent the ivy from becoming a much-maligned plant, and even now there are those who would have us strip every vestige of it from tree and wall alike. The ivy is said to be a parasite, which, of course, it is not. It makes its own food in the living leaves. Like any other green plant, it must have a certain amount of light, in order to make food, and so it uses adhesive roots which clothe its stems and form the so-called suckers, to help it reach the open.

There are times when dense growths of ivy can smother the smaller branches and twigs of trees, and the movements of its larger roots can

cause cracks in walls, but often its harmful effects are grossly exaggerated

To various forms of animal life ivy is of great value. Deer, cattle and horses will all eat the leaves, and more than once sheep have been kept alive on this food in time of prolonged drought. In October and November the yellow-green nectar-laden ivy flowers are a feasting place for butterflies, wasps and flies, and later the black berries are devoured by such birds as thrushes, wood pigeons and blackbirds.

Mistletoe is another of the plants of Christmas whose berries are enjoyed by birds. This evergreen with the yellowish green leaves was sacred to the Druids, the countryfolk of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, in whose orchards mistletoe is still quite abundant, hung boughs of it in their houses, to make them safe from witches and goblins and to bring them good luck. From those parts of England, and possibly a few other places where the plant was common, the custom appears to have spread to such an extent that much of the mistletoe used at Christmas has now to be imported from Normandy.

Mistletoe was used as a home-remedy for epilepsy for hundreds of years, and it is now the source of a drug employed in the treatment of nervous and hysterical disorders. To the botanist, mistletoe is a plant of considerable interest, being a "partial parasite" that grows on the branches and, more rarely, the trunks of many different kinds of trees and shrubs. It appears on such broad-leaved trees as apple, poplar, lime, oak and hawthorn. Cone-bearing trees do not often have mistletoe on them, but it has been seen on spruce, pine and silver fir.

Trees acting as hosts to mistletoe do not seem to suffer from its presence. Mistletoe seeds are deposited in the crevices of the bark of these trees by birds that have been feeding on the sticky, white berries. Two or three months later, "suckers" emerge from the seeds and start to push their way into the branch or tree-trunk. Mistletoe uses its "suckers" to obtain water and other materials for food-making from the tree. It makes its food in its dull green leaves, and is not therefore a complete parasite, as are certain parasitic plants which take their food direct from the plants to which they are attached.

One should perhaps add that the custom of claiming a kiss from any lady who finds herself under the mistletoe appears to be of comparatively recent origin. Sir J. E. Smith, the distinguished botanist who founded the Linnean Society of London in 1788, wrote of this practice: "In polite life it is as obsolete as some better things, and left to the kitchen!"

Another custom that has not been established very long in England is that of having a Christmas-tree in the house. It seems that this continental practice became popular here after Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had their first Christmas-tree at Windsor in 1841.

Small Douglas firs and the tops of older ones are sometimes sold for use as Christmas-trees, and so are small pines. Most of the trees with which we decorate our houses are, however, Norway spruces. Some of them are young trees that have been grown especially for the Christmas trade, but others are simply the tops of older trees which have been thinned from plantations.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

AVON FLOWS BACKWARDS

Facing the Dictators Lord Avon Cassell 42s

One would like to write that the second volume of Lord Avon's *Memoirs* is a graphic and compelling contribution to British contemporary history. It behoves this reviewer, however, to state that it is a turgid and tortuous account of a not very pleasing passage in Britain's diplomatic narrative. To say this is not to deny the author the undoubted due that must go to a man who was a spoke towards the centre of the wheel and, ultimately, the axle of that same wheel. But having made all allowance for the fact that his account is indeed that of an eye-witness, it must be said at once that he is a pedestrian witness who obscures the grand scheme with a welter of trivia and minute descriptions of Guards of Honour, stations by night and other travellogue trimmings.

Politically, no doubt, this volume will again stir the almost-cold ashes of bygone controversy, it is, of course, an extraordinary commentary on the world today that the old issues of "appeasement", "rearmament" and the other battle-cries of the nineteen-thirties seem, in retrospect, to matter less and less. It is not your critic's intention to be slighting when he observes that the impression left by this book is that Lord Avon is still over-sensitive to what he considers history and public opinion will make of his policies, and his every paragraph is stultified by either implicit or explicit self-justification wherein we are continually made aware that the author was "worried" or "alarmed" and generally sensible of the fact that things were not going well.

Where the diaries are a staggering disappointment is in their leaden description of the principal players in the not-inconsiderable drama, one can scarcely be dull when writing about Hitler, Mussolini, Baldwin, Chamberlain, Churchill, Lloyd George and the other lesser lights yet Lord Avon is deadly dull. One gathers that Lloyd George was civil to him on occasion, that Churchill was even then regarding him highly (so highly in fact that the very monotony of the author's narrative causes one to think that the greatest living Englishman was wrong in his judgment—and this cannot be so).

It is possible that had your correspondent had the energy and the moral courage, a perusal of the serialised version of the book, to be found in *The Times*, would have offered more rewarding reading than the arid and protracted accounts of meetings of small moment, meals of little distinction, minutes of limited perception and personalities of no honour at all.

To all this and more, Lord Avon gives his undivided attention, he writes with the ferocity of a man with time on his hands, no crumb from the diary must be allowed to escape regurgitation, no scrap of recorded conversation is allowed to slip through the mesh, we the readers are assaulted by a wave of trivia submerging a series of incidents that, in total, had an irrevocable influence upon the future of the world.

But one only senses the magnitude of the outcome from considered observations of the global scene, it would not be so plain were it studied through Lord Avon's reducing glass. And this is the essential weakness of his work: he writes not for the microscope but the reducing glass. Great men and greater events are assessed in a petty and trifling manner, the miniature *bon mot* takes its place with all the dignity of a major policy announcement, Lord Avon's air-sickness is backed with a reference to the "correctness" *et al* of the air force officer sent to offer him the use of Hitler's private plane. This point and counterpoint are utterly bewildering and account for the bloated size of the published volume.

Of the content it must be said there is scarcely a revelation not previously revealed, hardly a conclusion not already drawn. It can be conceded that Mr Eden (as he then was) had a greater awareness of the dangers from the Dictators, that he finally took his stand and made his protest, but considering that most people study these events from preconceived standpoints it must also be said that this lengthy treatise does little to throw much light on the dark corners of the scene previously unilluminated.

The centre of the stage has been well lighted for some time, the furthestmost corners remain stubbornly dark. Lord Avon sheds no lustre. In retrospect one can applaud him for having some of the courage that his colleagues lacked, for having some of the principles that the administration most obviously did not, and for being more perceptive than the more obtuse of his Parliamentary Party. But having said that, one has said what has to be said. And this has been said already. Lord Avon's diaries tell us nothing new and nothing novel. Everything remembered—and nothing memorable.

DOMINIC LE FOE

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

The Christian in Politics Walter James Oxford University Press 21s

This in my judgment is a remarkably good book on a very difficult subject. It is interesting (no small merit!), it is written with sure moral discernment, with religious insight and with sterling common sense. After a chapter of introduction the writer discusses the New Testament and the early Church, here he walks with a firm step amid many pitfalls. Then he turns to the Mediaeval Church when the Christians were in control. After that he shows the relationship between Christianity and politics in the lives of William Wilberforce, Lord Shaftesbury, Gladstone, Lord Salisbury (the Prime Minister), George Lansbury and Sir Stafford Cripps. Then come more general chapters on Politics and Religion in England, on "Christian" politics examined, on Christianity and Foreign Affairs, on Christian Political Parties on the Continent and "Instruments of God."

Christians must be Christians always, and as Christians they ought to take part in politics, but "for any politician to attempt to persuade men in a state of emotional excitement that they may transcend those moral capacities which history shows are all that belong to them, is an error whose consequences will be suffered not only by himself but by those he has misled", again, "when churchmen descend from the general to the particular and hold meetings concerned with the pace of colonial advance, they enter a field where principles are of less use than common-sense, skill in negotiation and knowledge of the facts of each case and the personalities involved."

I have some hesitations which do not qualify my judgment of this book's excellence. I think that for some years the Vatican has discountenanced "Christian" parties in favour of the permeation of all parties by "Catholic Action." Then is it correct to speak of "the Gospel ethic?" I think not, if by an ethic is meant any kind of code. Mr James discusses the ethical dilemma of "Munich" with much wisdom, he asks whether political assassination can ever be morally right; he might here have referred to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a notable theologian and a man of very saintly character who was hanged as being involved in the plot to do away with Hitler. The New Testament tells us in what spirit we ought to live but is no code telling us what under particular circumstances we ought to do.

Mr James is wrong, I feel certain, about the Puritans. He writes of them as opposing Christian intervention in social and political affairs, on the contrary, it was the Genevan tradition more than any other which called on men to establish the Lord's righteousness in public life. Again, the history of the Church of

England roughly from Queen Elizabeth till 1662 was an internal tension within the Church between those who were content with the Elizabethan settlement and the Puritans who wanted to take it further in a Presbyterian direction. Dissenters there were, but Puritanism is in no sense synonymous with Dissent. Have I misunderstood the writer?

"Most English churchmen who in modern times have been interested in the relation of religion and politics have belonged to the Catholic section of the Church of England." Perhaps by "churchmen" in this sentence Mr. James means members of the Church of England, otherwise the sentence reads very strangely. He does not mention Cardinal Manning or Cardinal Hinsley, and I think he greatly underestimates the political concern and political influence of Nonconformity, especially from about 1880-1914. It would, I think, be very unfair to suggest that this concern was merely political and not a conscious matter of churchmanship, as Nonconformists understood it.

But who could possibly write about English religious history without raising a chorus of protest from various sides? This is a very good book and much to be commended.

NATHANIEL MICKLEM

AN ASSESSMENT OF HASSAN II

Hassan II, King of Morocco Rom Landau Allen and Unwin 15s

Carefully, competently and cordially prepared, this sparkling "interim" biography of the youthful ruler of Morocco is a fitting introduction to a man of destiny in the strategically and historically important Maghreb. The picture of the favoured son, who studied meticulously and played hard, indulging in endless pranks, is often fascinating. Maybe the distressed French tutor had other views for a few hours when he discovered his old scooter lacked the even older tyre. But all was well at the special dinner when the royal host invited him to cut open an enormous pie and he found a gift, a new tyre. Mr. Rom Landau is not a sycophantic—he shows the courtier's scrupulous regard and attention to facts, and affection. Morocco is, and has long been, his private parish, he was fortunate early in life to have discovered this attractive and responsive corner of haunting Africa, the land of sunshine and indescribable natural beauty.

The book gives the needed serious facts and shows that even in the days of adversity in the ridiculously contrived and needlessly harsh exile, the Sultan was always encouraged to be firm with the French. He insisted on suitable terms for the royal family's return—to its proud if pitifully undeveloped homeland. The attractive vignette for me is in an account of the king's imagination, kindness and sense of time. When Hassan II consented for all his sisters to marry the husbands they chose, he also arranged for fifty of the city's poorest brides to celebrate their greatest day in one of the dazzling palaces of the world. That gesture crowns the young ruler and may help him in the long period ahead as prime minister and guide to a noble people.

Mr. Landau has confirmed endless stories I heard in the "harsh" days from the young prince's admirers in the Churchill paradise of Marrakesh, in the grateful city of Rabat, in the religious challenger to Kairouan, holy Meknes, and, of course, in the unrivalled Valley of Ourika. Why did Mr. Ben Bella first visit Rabat on being freed by General de Gaulle? Neither the Algerian leaders in exile nor the Tunisian hosts in that brave republic could tell me. Mr. Ben Bella did not directly answer me when we discussed his prison rigours. Now we are told King Hassan induced De Gaulle to let him send a Moroccan to share prison days towards the end with the Premier-to-be of Algeria. That is another element of the story, and it raises hopes for the mission of the young Chief of State.

GEORGE BLAINKIN

THE SKULL BEHIND THE SKIN

A Sense of Danger Vernon Scannell. Putnam, 10s 6d

Uncle Dog Robert Sward Putnam, 8s 6d

It grows ever more difficult to find contemporary poetry which is not haunted by a sense of the ominous. Everything one reads nowadays is full of presentiment, shadowed by (at its most definitive) the mushroom cloud, or (at its least particular) the presence of Death. Perhaps never have we lived so familiarly with death as we do now. Even in the most violent ages, Man's gaze focused on life rather than its termination, but today there is no escaping the skull behind the skin. Perhaps the skin is thinner than it used to be, or perhaps one notices the change because one is a member of the wartime generation which is now middle-aged. Growing older is growing colder.

Vernon Scannell is also of this generation, and his new collection, *A Sense of Danger*, makes good, though uncomfortable reading. Mr Scannell's work has never lacked courage, and if there is a threat to face, he will not evade it. Thus, the title poem of his collection aptly describes the whole contents of the book. There is hardly one poem which is not impregnated with a sense of imminent disaster, an acute awareness of the threat behind the everyday face of life. These poems do everything but utter the scream they were designed for. Take this stanza, for instance, from the title poem:

But we declined, took up our guns and bags,
Turning blind backs on offers of delight
Left for the gaunt terrain and squinting crags,
With luck we'd find a water-hole that night
'As safe as houses', they had called the town,
But we had seen great houses tumbled down

Even the landscape is mimical, and Man himself trusts no one, for he has been tricked before.

The sadness in Mr Scannell's verse is that when Mankind fails him, he does not look elsewhere. If we are to conquer the sense of danger, then surely we *must* look elsewhere?

There is some excellently sensitive writing in this book. Occasionally the poet miscasts his subject, forcing it into a mould unsuitable for it, as in 'Psychopath', and sometimes there are surprising falterings in rhythm. However, there is a shrewd appreciation of mood and human motives, and a consistency of vision which is courageous and faithful in its expression.

As I said at the beginning of this review, there is no escaping the sense of the ominous in contemporary work. An American poet, Robert Sward, expresses himself in terms of laughter, yet the mockery has a touch of wryness in it, even occasionally a touch of horror, as in 'Letters to his Psychiatrist'. Mr Sward, however, is a more careful dissembler than Mr Scannell. Whatever his sensibility (and it is considerable) he is always ready to disown it, hiding it, as soon as it appears, behind grimaces and jokes. Does he seek to deceive us or himself about the true nature of Robert Sward and his Muse? One senses an elaborate game of hide-and-seek which the writer is playing with the death-obsession, yet he will not take it seriously, and he is anxious that we, his readers, should not think him seriously involved in it. Only at the end of the book comes an admission:

I am fond of death — and/or

The self-contained

There are some items of triviality in *Uncle Dog*, and one, 'Lullaby', should never have been included in a serious collection. For this book is, basically, serious in intent, though it laughs at the shadow it acknowledges it. Poetry is, after all, fundamentally concerned with the search for truth.

JOAN FORMAN

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

DELINQUENCY AND CHILD NEGLECT

(Allen and Unwin 25s) This is a valuable survey, published for the Sir Halley Stewart Trust, and conducted by Miss Harriet Wilson into the impact of parental neglect upon juvenile delinquency. The inquiry is largely based upon material obtained from fifty-two problem families, suffering from performance inadequacy relating to family solvency, neglect in hygiene and health and bad school attendance. The families were taken from a very poor area in an industrial seaport which, for no sound reason, has been kept anonymous. Such families have a special tendency to child neglect, and the survey reaches the not surprising conclusion that four out of five boys were delinquent, eight times greater than the general rate locally. Among girls, the rate was one delinquent among three, compared with the national average of one in ten. As the author points out, child neglect is not confined to the poor, but "delinquency appeared as a by-product of a low standard of living coupled with child neglect." As practical proposals, the survey recommends rising family allowances according to size of family, lump sum payments from the National Assistance Board for clothing and household requirements, and the provision of more nursery schools. "The need for specialised help in the form of a trusted family adviser is imperative" and a Family Service Unit can provide this. Although frequently the size of the family is an insuperable burden, "family planning clinics have been found to be of little service."

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945 Volume XII (HM Stationery Office 60s) This volume covering the months from February 1, to June 22, 1941, is a further stage in the publication of captured German archives under the auspices of the British, American and French governments. It is the penultimate in Series D which covers the period September 1937 to December 1941. The documents have been selected by the British,

American and French Editors who have been given complete freedom of choice and who properly work "on the basis of scholarly objectivity." The actual editorial responsibility for this volume rests with the American Editors, of whom Mr. Howard M. Smyth is the Editor-in-Chief. The documents are set out in chronological order, preceded by an essential Analytical List. They are also briefly annotated. The main theme is the story leading up to the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, it is reasonably clear that until the last moment many of the highest German diplomats were ignorant of Hitler's intentions. The volume contains Fuhrer's Directives, Foreign Ministry records of important conferences, for example with Mussolini, and numerous reports from German diplomatic representatives all over the neutral and Axis world. Their assessments of opinion and conditions both in neutral states and Britain are of great interest, sometimes wildly inaccurate and on occasion shrewdly sound.

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN RURAL INDIA

(Yale University Press \$7.50 UK 60s) Here is an important study by Professor Walter C. Neale of the history of land tenure in Uttar Pradesh, formerly the United Provinces, from 1800-1955. Land holding in India has been, of course, at the core of economic and social life in a purely agricultural community. The author pays tribute somewhat reservedly to the fundamental achievement of British rule in providing security of tenure. "Perhaps we should regard the conversion of tenancies-at-will to occupancy and hereditary tenancies in the twenties as triumphs over great odds and not as evidence of cowardice, inefficiency or wrongheadedness on the part of the British administration." There is much scope for diverse interpretations of government policy and behaviour in a study of this kind. The author's final conclusion is no doubt correct, mainly that the abolition of the Zamindari system by the Republican Government, and

indeed any land reform by itself, is not the touchstone of economic prosperity. The need is for development of capital resources and alternative employment with higher productivity.

FAMOUS ILLNESSES IN HISTORY (Eyre and Spottiswoode 21s) This is a fascinating volume by an eminent doctor and medical historian, Dr R. Scott Stevenson, in which he emphasises "interesting problems of diagnosis in illnesses that may have influenced the course of history, including some post-mortem examination," so important in checking diagnosis. The cases include those of George V, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Edward VII, Byron, President Cleveland, Charles Darwin, Napoleon III, George III, Princess Charlotte, George Washington, Robert Burns and Queen Anne. The author has studied contemporary material and, in the case of the more recent illnesses, he has known a number of the doctors involved. He is also an authority on Morell Mackenzie who attended Frederick III, in his last illness. Dr Stevenson concludes that the descriptions of the Emperor's condition sound to him "much more like syphilis of the larynx than cancer," a view which Mackenzie himself appears to have held privately. The author discounts the recent suggestions that Napoleon died from arsenical poisoning. The arsenic undoubtedly present in his hair "may well have been employed in treatment," and the three post-mortem reports "contain conclusive evidence that death was due to cancer of the stomach." On the other hand, in the case of Charles II's death, there are "a number of circumstances that might well make one suspect poisoning."

WHAT HAPPENED ON THE BOUNTY (Allen and Unwin 25s) This new study of the mutiny on the *Bounty* in 1789 and the colonisation of Pitcairn island by the mutineers comes from the well-known Swedish writer on the South Seas, Mr Bengt Danielson, who has acted as special adviser to MGM for the film version of the mutiny. "Throughout the world", writes the

author, "there are quantities of log books, reports, letters and other documents, with the help of which it is possible to reconstruct in detail the whole course of events." This book is based on an exhaustive study of this mass of original material. Unfortunately the book contains no bibliography and no annotations, although some quotations, particularly from Captain Bligh's log book, are given as a reference. The volume is extremely readable, dramatic and balanced. Emphasis is placed upon Bligh's qualities, of courage, navigation, scientific curiosities and leadership, while his brutality, temper, unfairness and personal fiddling are treated as little more than typical of his day. The mutiny is interpreted "almost as a class struggle, a revolt of the oppressed, neglected, poverty-stricken and homeless seamen against a privileged and overbearing gentleman-class," represented in Captain Bligh. Whether this is the right interpretation must remain doubtful. The volume is translated from the Swedish by Mr Alan Tapsell.

WRITERS & CRITICS (Oliver and Boyd 5s per volume) Four new volumes have been added to this well known series of short introductory biographies of great literary figures by established critics. Professor P. H. Butter contributes the first book to be published on *Edwin Muir*, and concludes that Muir "is a poet of major importance because of the depth and comprehensiveness of the vision which his poems collectively contain." Professor G. Wilson Knight has a fresh approach to *Ibsen* in a book of much interest. In *Joyce*, Mr S. L. Goldberg briefly discusses the course of James Joyce's work down to *Finnegans Wake*, and also his technique and criticism. It is a contribution to the study of a very remarkable character. Professor Douglas Grant has contributed a very useful study of Mark Twain. In *Twain*, he combines biography with criticism, dealing in some detail with his major works.

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